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THE

EPISTOLARY CORRESPONDENCE,

VISITATION CHARGES,

SPEECHES, AND MISCELLANIES,

OF THE RIGHT REVEREND

FRANCIS ATTERBURY, D.D.

LORD BISHOP OF ROCHESTER.

WITH HISTORICAL NOTES.

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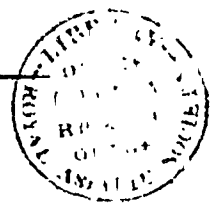
How pleasing ATTERBURY's softer hour!
How shin'd the soul, unconquer'd in the Tower!"

POPE.

VOLUME THE SECOND.



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POEMS.

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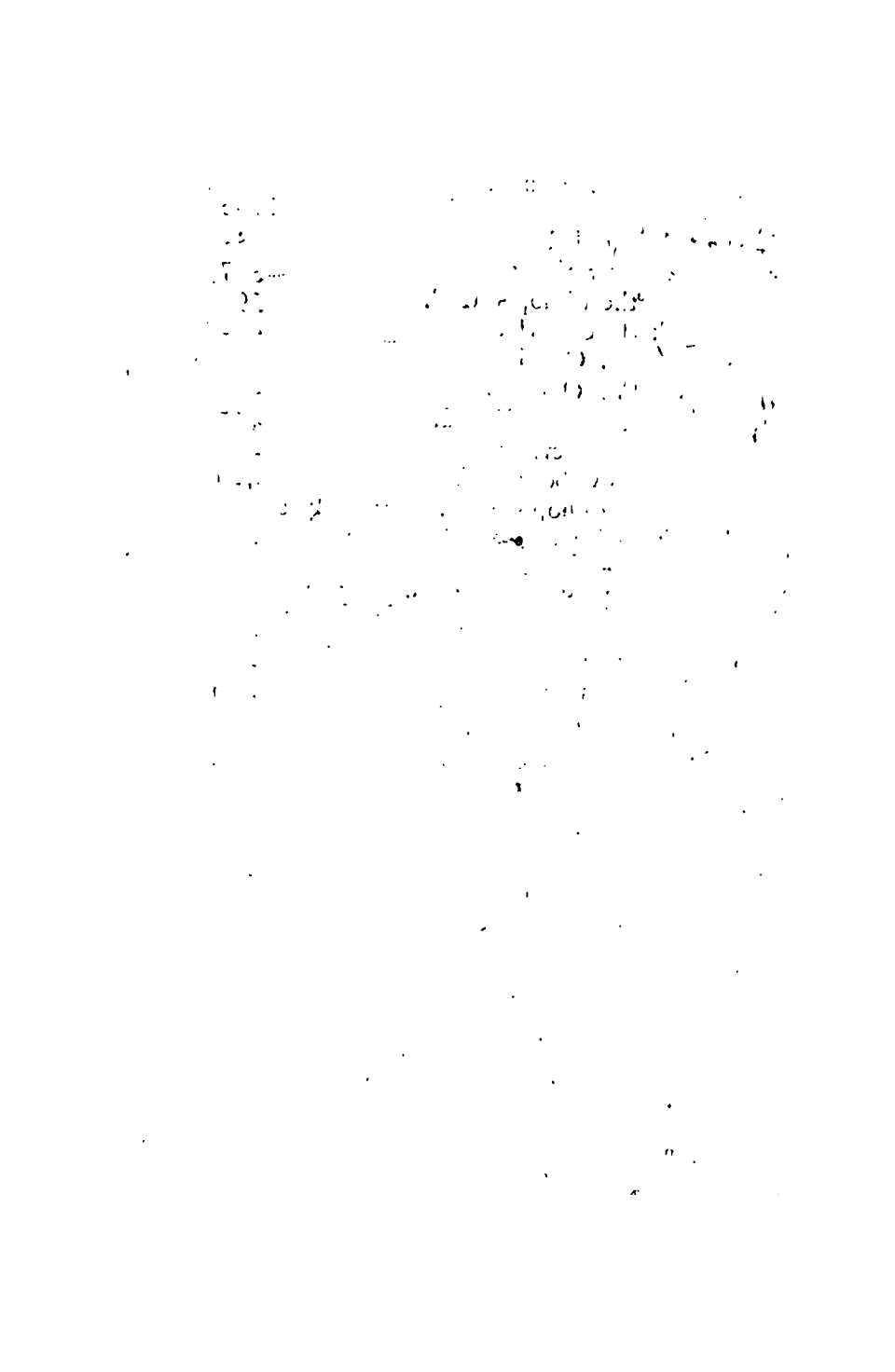

LETTERS

TO AND FROM

Mr. FRANCIS ATTERBURY,

Afterwards Biſhop of ROCHESTER.

LETTER I.

Hon. CHARLES BOYLE * to Mr. ATTERBURY.

SIR, Nov. 15, [1691.]

THE Dean came to C. C. on Friday: he told me he ſupped with you in Park-place on Monday-night; but has not yet

* Second ſon of Roger the ſecond Earl of Orrery, and brother to Lionel the third Earl, whom he ſucceeded in that title in 1703. Mr. Atterbury was one of his tutors at Chriſt-church, Oxford (ſee vol. I. p. 9.), where he was admitted as a nobleman in 1690, and in 1695 diſtinguiſhed

yet mentioned any thing to me of a tutor; if he does, he will find me too reſolute to be moved from my point *. Mr. Altham † was yeſterday inſtalled in our Chapel. I have juſt made an end of Locke ‡: I was all along extremely pleaſed with him. I think there is a great deal of very good ſenſe in him; and I believe a great part of it is his own: beſide, his language is ſound, proper, and pure; and his inſtances ſo familiar, that any one may underſtand him. If he ſays the thing over and over, I think we are obliged to him; for he has nothing but what will bear reading twice at leaſt. I am deep in Tully's Divinity ‖; it

himſelf in the celebrated controverſy with Dr. Bentley, occaſioned by the Epiſtles of Phalaris. He died Aug. 28, 1731. The preſent Earl of Corke and Orrery is his grandſon.

* "The Dean" was Dr. Aldrich.

† There were two Roger Althams of Chriſt-church at the ſame period; they were both alſo canons of the ſixth ſtall in Chriſt-church; one inſtituted Nov. 6, 1691 [inſtalled Nov. 24, according to Wood]; the other March 12, 1702. See Le Neve, p. 527, where it appears that the canonry of the former was vacated April 30, 1697, *per incapacitatem*. The latter was Hebrew Profeſſor in 1703.

‡ "On the Human Underſtanding," probably

‖ "De Divinatione."

is

is incredible to me how ſo many of thoſe old philoſophers could deviate into ſuch abſurd opinions of a Deity. Some, it is true, framed their God according to their own inclinations and intereſts; ſome few, I believe, after a ſtrict examination, delivered the pure reſult of their judgements; but many of their hypotheſes are ſo very extravagant, that the authors of them, in an eager purſuit, ſeem to have forgot what they were looking after. In the mornings I intend to read More's * Enchiridion and Oughtred †. I am ſo far from being too haſty, that ſince you went I have added but very little to Lyſander ‡, becauſe moſt of my time has been taken up about an oppo-

* Dr. Henry's Divine Dialogues.

† His Clavis Mathematica, probably.

‡ "The Life of," from Plutarch. Dr. Campbell apprehends, that this tranſlation "was written only, and not printed, as the tranſlation of Plutarch's Lives by Dryden was undertaken in 1683, ſeven years before Mr. Boyle went to the univerſity; and in the edition of 1711, the life of Lyſander, which is in the third volume, is tranſlated by William Leman, M. A. of Cambridge." See Biographia Britannica, vol. II. Yet Mr. Walpole mentions this Life of Lyſander as publiſhed in ſome editions of Plutarch.

ſition and ſuppoſition; but now I intend to go on leiſurely, and hope to have it finiſhed by Chriſtmas. Mr. Bennet * ſent me word he had ſent thoſe books you ordered for me on Thurſday by Moor's waggon; but I ſent to ſee if he had any thing, and there was nothing. Pray, know of Mr. Bennet if he ſent any books for me on Thurſday; and you will oblige, Sir,

Your humble ſervant,

C. BOYLE.

LETTER II.

Mr. BOYLE to Mr. ATTERBURY.

SIR, Dec. 6, [1691.]

I AM afraid I ſhall ſcarce have done Lyſander before Chriſtmas; it takes me up a great deal of time, and coſts me abundance of pains. I am buſied in it generally two or three hours in an afternoon, yet am not able to make any great progreſs. To make Plutarch appear in any tolerable dreſs, is an harder

* The bookſeller, who figured afterwards in the controverſy with Dr. Bentley.

taſk

taſk than I thought it was; for he is ſo extremely dull, that if I were to turn him into ridicule, the beſt way I think would be to give him a verbal tranſlation; which Mr. Leman has hit pretty well, though I doubt he was ſerious. Deſcartes's Principles laſt me a good part of the morning: I am now got over more than half. Mr. Morgan comes to me ſometimes, and reads a little with me; and I aſk him any thing when I ſtick: but not only in this, but in every thing elſe, I find him a man of very true ſenſe, as well as good-natured and eaſy. Till I have done with Deſcartes, Oughtred will have a little reſt, though I take him now and then for variety. Moſt parts of the afternoon that I do not tranſlate, I beſtow upon Tully; and am now almoſt at the end of his ſecond book, De Naturâ Deorum. The Stoics' notion of a God is nearly as abſurd as that of the Epicureans; yet they had a better plea for their wild opinion than thoſe, for the beſt account of their hypotheſis I can meet with is in Tully himſelf; and it is this. He ſays, Epicurus lived in a country where Atheiſm was by no means allowed of; he was forced to acknowledge ſomething of a God, that he

might, ſave his carcaſe (which I believe he was tender enough of); ſo he clapt up his extravagant and open ſcheme rather than run the hazard of loſing this life when he had no proſpect of a better. Upon the whole, I am apt to think that Epicurus was not only an idle, but very ignorant fellow. I am ſure Tully has drawn him in that poſture, though Sir W. Temple gives him a great character, relying chiefly, I ſuppoſe, upon the authority of Laertius; but I leave you to judge in this caſe whoſe teſtimony is to be preferred. I have read ſome of the Moral Eſſays: I believe the author is a good man; but he falls much ſhort of Dr. Sherlock; ſo that, I dare ſay, whatever the Doctor has taken from him, he has made his own. By this time I believe you may have heard how one Mr. Gyles, of Univerſity college, drowned himſelf on Tueſday, in our meadow. I am, Sir, &c.

C. BOYLE.

LET-

LETTER III.

Mr. BOYLE to Mr. ATTERBURY.

SIR, Dec. 18, [1691.]

I ASSURE you, that not out of any laziness or neglect I have not writ to you before now; but I heard you were ill, and I thought it then an improper time to trouble you; and till now I have not heard of your recovery. I have read out Descartes's Principles, and am so well satisfied with them, that I design to read them over again, though first to breathe a while. There are some particulars which perhaps I might make just exceptions against; as his notion of body, some of his laws of motion, the determination of his vortices this way rather than that sometimes; but except these, and perhaps some few more, I take his hypothesis to be a very rational one; and I cannot think his philosophy a romance, though he himself was so modest as to call it one. I have the better opinion of his writings, because he had so mean a one of them himself. How foolishly fond are most men of their own works, which

by much labour and thinking they have made their own! But truly I think Deſcartes betrays ſo little vanity that any man might commend himſelf ſo far without being vain. For though we can never arrive at demonſtration in phyſics till we are better acquainted with the conſtitution of bodies, and the particular motions of their inſenſible parts; yet he is the beſt philoſopher, that, upon the moſt rational grounds, gives the moſt probable account of Nature's operations, and makes me believe that this effect might proceed from this cauſe, though I am not mathematically certain it did. Now in this, I think, Deſcartes has much outdone his predeceſſors; and beſides, throughout his Principles, there is thought and connexion; for, if I am not miſtaken, he ſeldom ſays any thing that may not be deduced from ſomething that went before: he loves to give an account of all particulars that he can tolerably bring in; and we are only ſorry that he has given an account of no more, for now we can only ſay that he has laid a good foundation for a very ſubſtantial building. In ſhort, I take him to be a very great man, a ſound naturaliſt, and a good mathematician; what he ſays is not

only

only generally new, and his own, but more intelligible, and more ſatisfactory, than all that ſtuff the ſilly world had ſo long been contented with. And it is indeed to me an argument of his merit, that he has been able, among the moſt ſenſible men, to make ſo great a progreſs through the innumerable companies of Ariſtotelians, that with their ſympathies and antipathies had blocked up the way for ſo many ages together. Theſe are moſt of the reflections I have made upon Deſcartes at preſent; but I do not queſtion but, every time I read him, I ſhall find not only a new pleaſure, but new ſubjects too of commendation. I have read over another book or two ſince I writ to you; but here is impertinence enough for one time. I need not tell you how ſorry I was to hear of your ſickneſs, nor how glad of your recovery, for I hope you believe that I am, Sir, &c.

C. BOYLE.

LET-

LETTER IV.

Mr. Boyle to Mr. Atterbury.

SIR, March 10 [1691 ..]

I do not forget my own resolutions, and would not your requests. I am very sensible how good a custom it is to receive* once a month. I omitted it the first Sunday last month, because I came at the latter end of January from London; but I intend to keep it up always when I have a good opportunity. I have made an end of Burgersdicius†: he is as close, I believe, and as easy as any of them, short, and there are fewer useless terms in him than in other ordinary books upon that subject. He goes often against the common opinion, but has generally good reasons on his side; and he has endeavoured not only to make metaphysics as profitable,

* The Sacrament.

† His logic. Dean Aldrich, then at the head of that society, drew up originally for the use of Mr. Boyle, his learned Compendium of Logic, now read at Christ Church, in which he styles him *the great Ornament of our College*. Dr. Campbell, in Biographia Britannica.

but

but as pleaſant too, as he could. I have read Dr. Sherlock upon Judgement *. His way of thinking and writing here is much the ſame as it is in his book upon Death †, admirable and peculiar in both; though I think his Judgement is not ſo practical a book as his Death. There he ſettles more notions, and doth not make ſo many inferences for the government of our lives; but this was rather cauſed, I believe, from the difference of the ſubjects. He is apt to repeat the ſame thing too often; he is careleſs as to his expreſſion, which is ſeldom neat, ſometimes falſe; for he deſires much rather that his thoughts ſhould be juſt, than his language proper. I will make as much haſte as I can with Lyſander. I begin now to draw towards a concluſion. He has coſt me a great deal of pains; but I ſhall think myſelf well recompenſed if the tranſlation pleaſes you, for I am, &c. C. BOYLE.

* Publiſhed in 1691-2.
† Publiſhed in 1690.

LET-

LETTER V.

Mr. BOYLE to Mr. ATTERBURY.

SIR, March [illegible], [1691-2.]

NOW I have ended metaphyſics, I go to Euclid in the morning. I ſhall have done with Terence too in a little while, and then you ſhall have my reflections upon him. Bob deſired me to give him a general character of Mr. Hooker *. It is ſomething different from that which I ſent you, and ſomething longer. I will not trouble you with the little preface. Mr. Hooker's cauſe was a very good one; and he pleads it with as much meekneſs as reaſon, rather as if he adviſed a friend, than confuted an adverſary, who, notwithſtanding his good-nature, was as fierce as he was mild. He contended not for victory, but truth; and deſired rather to lead, than drive, men into the right way. All his thoughts are ſo juſt and noble, that his enemies muſt admire his true ſenſe, though they cannot like his party, and will

* Author of Eccleſiaſtical Polity, 1594, and 1597.

con-

confeſs that he is the faireſt and yet the moſt terrible advocate that ever appeared againſt them. His arguments ſhow him to be a philoſopher, and his eloquence an orator; and he acts both parts ſo very well, that his beſt reaſons are ſtrengthened by his expreſſions. He fetches every thing from the original, traces all its cauſes to the bottom, and examines it throughout with great induſtry and ſound judgement; that he may neither be impoſed upon himſelf, nor put upon others. His language is ſo pure and correct, that, like good coin, it is ſtill current; and a man, by his ſtyle, might eaſily take him for one of the beſt writers of our own age. In ſhort then, Mr. Hooker had as much modeſty as ingenuity; his imagination was equal to his judgement; his piety as remarkable as his learning. He has taught the Preſbyterians how to live, and the Church of England how to write. I read a little laſt Sunday of Dr. Sherlock's Religious Aſſemblies *; it will not take me up above three or four more. When it is done, I will begin if you pleaſe with his

* "A Practical Diſcourſe on," 1681.

Know-

Knowledge of Chriſt *, or with what other book you think fit. I am, Sir,

Your very humble ſervant,

C. BOYLE.

LETTER VI.

Mr. BOYLE to Mr. ATTERBURY.

March 22, [1691-2.]

THOUGH I am uneaſy at the report you ſay is raiſed about me, yet I am very much obliged to you for telling me of it; and I aſſure you, Sir, I will never take any thing of this nature ill at your hands. I proteſt to you ingenuouſly, I know no manner of ground for it: it is as falſe as it is malicious, for thoſe that invented it muſt be men of much leiſure, and as much malice. I keep to all ſorts of buſineſs as I uſed to do; and my notions of morality are as firm and ſteady as ever they were, that is, too firm to be altered. However, to make the beſt advantage of this report, I will ſtand more upon my guard for the future: for I am very ſenſible how

* "A Diſcourſe concerning the," 167?.

nice a thing reputation is; that it is as eaſily loſt, as it is difficult to be got. If the world governs itſelf perfectly by humour and paſſion, I cannot help it; but I will take all the care I can it ſhall have no reaſon to be angry with me. You muſt pardon me, Sir, that I can give you no account of my ſtudies now. I have not been well almoſt for this week. I was let blood on Saturday, and took phyſic yeſterday. The fault is ſtill in my ſtomach. Till that be remedied, I ſhall not be quite well. When I am better, you ſhall hear more from me, who am, Sir,

Your very humble ſervant,

C. BOYLE.

LETTER VII.

Mr. BOYLE to Mr. ATTERBURY.

SIR, May 10, [1692.]

I Had a letter from Tonſon laſt week, to let me know he ſhould put the ſecond volume of Plutarch in the preſs within two months. Lyſander is almoſt done; I hope to have him corrected ready for the preſs * in

* It ſhould ſeem by this, that Mr. Boyle's tranſlation was intended to be inſerted in the ſecond edition.

leſs

leſs than a month: I had done him before now, if I had not been ſick. I am pretty well now; and begin to fall into the old courſe of my ſtudies. I am got through the firſt book of Euclid, and the three firſt of Cæſar. My Bible and Euclid take up my morning; Cæſar and exerciſe, Lyſander and ſome French, my afternoon. Tonſon ſent me Dryden's Cleomenes*, and told me it had the fortune to pleaſe the town; therefore I read it over, and found what I expected in it—much prophaneneſs. He has indeed ſome fine expreſſions, but ſome very odd; and in my mind he has followed the hiſtory too cloſe. He has little or no fable; however, upon the whole, one may ſee he hath taken a great deal of pains. I have made an end of Dr. Sherlock's Religious Aſſemblies: one may eaſily diſcover it is Dr. Sherlock's, and as eaſily that it is one of his firſt: he ſpeaks to many points in it, and therefore he could not ſift every one of them ſo clearly as if he had writ a whole book upon one ſingle ſubject. His arguments are good, but ſhort, not drawn to the beſt advantage;

* A tragedy, acted and printed in 1692. "Barry," Dryden ſays, "in this tragedy excelled herſelf." *Preface.*

rather

rather to inſtruct an honeſt man, than to convine a ſcholar. If you pleaſe to give yourſelf the trouble to let me know what book you think fit for me to read on Sundays, I will follow your directions; for I am, &c.

LETTER VIII.

Mr. BOYLE to Mr. ATTERBURY *.

SIR, Sunday, [1693.]

AFTER having been three years your pupil, I am ſorry, for your own ſake as well as mine, you do not think me able to write my own letters; but I cannot eaſily take any thing ill from you, for I am ſatisfied you deſign nothing but kindneſs to me. I am ſo unhappy as to think my mother † cannot do ſo, when ſhe propoſes either my going to Ireland, or my continuance here. She muſt not be angry with me if I refuſe both, for I cannot ſee but that either muſt (what, you ſay, my campaigning will) be my utter undoing. I am not obſtinate, nor fond of

* Directed to him at Bridewell-houſe, London.

† Mary Counteſs of Orrery, daughter of Richard Earl of Dorſet. Why Mr. Boyle takes no notice of his father, who was then living, does not appear.

being a ſoldier; nor by going to Flanders do I deſign to be one, but only to put myſelf in ſome way of getting bread. I will not particularly now diſpute which way I am in prudence to take, in order to make my fortune, becauſe I deſign to ſee you in London this week, and talk over matters with you; only thus much I muſt declare, that if my mother caſts me off, I do not break with her, but ſhe with me. Mr. Codrington * and Mr.

* Chriſtopher Codrington, a native of the iſland of Barbados. Coming early to England, he received his education firſt at a private ſchool, and afterwards at Oxford, where he was admitted a Probationer Fellow of All Souls College, in 1689. Quitting the Univerſity, but retaining his Fellowſhip, he entered into the army; and ſoon recommended himſelf to the notice of his Prince, by whom he was honoured with promotion. On the concluſion of the peace of Ryſwick, he was appointed Captain-General and Governor in Chief of the Leeward Caribbee Iſlands. Some time before his death he reſigned his government, and retired to the enjoyment of a ſtudious and learned courſe of life, which ended at his ſeat in Barbados, on the 7th of April, 1710. He was buried firſt in the church of St. Michael in that iſland; but was afterwards re-interred on the 19th of June, 1716, in the chapel of All Souls, Oxford, where two orations were ſpoken by two fellows of that college; the one by Digby Cotes, the Univerſity Orator, at his interment; the other by Dr. Young. See the ſixth volume of Young's Works, p. 129.

Freind

Freind * know all the ſteps I have made in this buſineſs: they do not diſlike my conduct; but think I am ill uſed, ſince I do nothing that is ill or diſhonourable, if my mother forſakes me. Since I have mentioned Mr. Codrington, I muſt beg leave to juſtify him in this buſineſs. He never perſuaded me to go into the army; but, like a true friend, told me he would not propoſe an end to me (and that indeed, I think, every man is to chooſe for himſelf): when I had choſen that, he would aſſiſt me as far as he could in the means. Really, Sir, I am infinitely obliged to him; and I am ſure it will never be in my power, though it will always be in my inclination, to make him a ſuitable return. In a word, I am in town: upon conviction I am in the wrong, I will very readily alter my meaſures, and ſubmit to better judgements. There is no poſt in the world I could be better pleaſed with than a groom of the bedchamber's place; but I doubt it will be very difficult, if not impoſſible, to get one in any time. When I come to town †, I will wait

* John, afterwards, M. D.

† Juſt before he ſays, "I am in town."

upon Sir William Temple, and let him know my pretenſions are wholly at court, where I know his intereſt is very good; and not in the army *; if I can make my fortune any where elſe. If I were ſettled, I would willingly go with my mother to Ireland, and obey all her Ladyſhip's commands; but it is very unreaſonable to take me there now, and never permit me to appear here where I deſign to ſpend my life.

I could ſay much more to you; but I will defer it, ſince I hope to ſee you at the latter end of this week, as I ſaid before; and to aſſure you I am, with all ſincerity, Sir, your hearty friend and ſervant,

C. Boyle.

* When Mr. Boyle entered into the army, is not certain: but he roſe afterwards to the rank of major-general; and had a regiment, at the head of which he diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the battle of Malplaquet, when Earl of Orrery.

LET-

LETTER IX.

Mr. ATTERBURY to Mr. BOYLE, at Lady ORRERY's, Park-Place.

SIR. Chelſea, Tueſday-morn, [1698.]

I HAVE ſent you back the papers *, which I believe the preſs waits for: Mr. Bennet †, as I remember, told me the impreſſion would be finiſhed this day.

Sir, you might have ſent theſe papers to any body better than me, whoſe opinion all along in this controverſy you have not ſeemed very willing to take, and whoſe pains in it, I find, have not pleaſed you. Some time and trouble this matter coſt me. In laying the deſign of the book, in writing above half of

* "Dr. Bentley's Diſſertation on the Epiſtles of Phalaris, and the Fables of Æſop examined, by the Hon. Charles Boyle, 1698." The publication of this book, as appears by the preface, "was hindered by Mr. Boyle's buſineſs, which ſent him into, and detained him in Ireland."

† A ſermon preached by Dr. Atterbury, at the funeral of this bookſeller, in 1706, expoſed him to a warm attack from Mr. Hoadly.

it*, in reviewing a good part of the reſt, in tranſcribing the whole, and attending the preſs, half a year of my life went away. What I promiſed myſelf from hence was, that ſome ſervice would be done to your reputation, and that you would think ſo. In the firſt of theſe I was not miſtaken: in the latter I am. When you were abroad, Sir, the higheſt you could prevail with yourſelf to go in your opinion of the book was, "that you "hoped it would do you no harm." When you returned, I ſuppoſed you would have ſeen that it had been far from hurting you. However, you have not thought fit to let me know your mind in this matter; for, ſince you came to England, no one expreſſion, that I know of, has dropped from you that could give me reaſon to believe you had any opinion of what I had done, or even took it kindly from me. Hitherto, Sir, I have endeavoured to ſerve your reputation, without your thanks, and againſt your will. But it does not become me always to do it. You will eaſily therefore excuſe me if I meddle no further in a

* Hence "the ſuit of armour" (as Swift ſtyles it) "given by all the gods" may be re-claimed for the original artificer.

matter

matter, where my management has had the ill-luck to displeaſe you and a good-friend of yours; whereas I had the vanity to think and hope that it would have ſat ill on nobody but Mr. Wotton * and Dr. Bentley. I am, Sir, your moſt humble ſervant,

F. ATTERBURY.

LETTER X.

Lord STANHOPE † to Dr. ATTERBURY, Archdeacon of Totneſs.

SIR, Oct. [1703.]

I THOUGHT to have returned you thanks for both your letters before this; and in not doing it I confeſs myſelf guilty of a great omiſſion. I am now very well ſatisfied that you

* William, afterwards D. D. author of "Reflections on Ancient and Modern Learning;" to which Dr. Bentley's "Diſſertation on Phalaris" was originally annexed. He figures in Swift's "Battle of the Books."

† Philip, eldeſt ſon of the ſecond earl of Cheſterfield, whom he ſucceeded in that title in 1713. He was educated at Weſtminſter-ſchool, under the famous Dr. Buſby, and was thought to have ſtrong parts. He was a high Tory, if not a Jacobite; he was of a moroſe diſpoſition, of violent paſſions, and often thought that people behaved

you can be a very good poet when you pleaſe, but not when I pleaſe. I am glad the veniſon was good, becauſe it was only a taſte of what I intend you ſhall have more of this winter. I am very much obliged to you for the ſervice you offer to do for me at St. James's; but in that undertaking I do really think you will only loſe your time to no purpoſe; for I expect nothing from the gentleman * that is there, but to ſee him bred up an ignorant, worthleſs, amorous fop.

I wiſh I could ſend you any news, in return to that which you have been pleaſed to divert me with; but I am certain there is none to be ſent out of the country that a man of your taſte can reliſh. So that I ſhall end this paper with aſſuring you that I am always, dear Sir, your moſt affectionate friend,

STANHOPE.

ill to him when they did not in the leaſt intend it. See Dr. Maty's Memoirs of Lord Cheſterfield, p. 268. He married, in December 1691, lady Elizabeth, one of the daughters of George Savile marquis of Halifax, by whom he had the late earl of Cheſterfield and five other children. He died Jan. 27, 1725-6.

* Philip Dormer Stanhope, his eldeſt ſon; who is ſaid to have been ſlighted by his father, and (after the death of his mother) was placed under the care of his grandmother lady Halifax. He was at this time about nine years old.

LET-

LETTER XI.

Lord STANHOPE to Dr. ATTERBURY, Dean of CARLISLE.

MR. DEAN, Lichfield, Oct. 6, 1705.

I WISH I was but as ſure of good health as I am of your kindneſs and friendſhip to me. Beſides a great deafneſs * that hangs upon me, I have a rheumatic pain that runs all over me; ſo that I have not been out of my doors theſe ten days. I muſt confeſs (except it be your brother Binckes †) I loſe no converſation by being deaf in this place, which is juſt as well ſtocked with good manners and polite converſation as your friend Dr. Wake ‡

* This ſeems a family diſorder; his lordſhip's ſons, the late Lord Cheſterfield and Sir William Stanhope, being both much afflicted with it.

† William Binckes, D. D. was inſtalled a prebendary of Litchfield, June 19, 1703. He died exactly on that day nine years, and was buried at Leamington in Warwickſhire. An anonymous pamphlet, ſuppoſed to be written by him in 1697, gave riſe to the controverſy mentioned in the next note.

‡ Dr. Atterbury had been four years engaged in a controverſy with Dr. (afterwards Archbiſhop) Wake "on the Rights, &c. of Convocations."

is with deep learning, ſolid ſenſe, and the knack of writing intelligible Engliſh!

Really, Mr. Dean, I would write a play, to divert myſelf, and paſs away time, but that I am at ſuch a diſtance from the Earl of Orrery, that I cannot in conſcience aſk his Lordſhip's aſſiſtance *. Since I cannot hear, I would willingly court the ladies in a new faſhion, by writing love-verſes to them, but that you know very well that the author of "Boyle againſt Bentley" long ago refuſed me his aſſiſtance †; which, I believe, is what the modern Wotton, or the learned Wake, could never have boggled at; ſo much more humane and candid are ſome clergymen than others! As my worthy landlord, the Prelate ‡ of this place, whoſe breaſt

* This ſeems intended as a ſneer on his Lordſhip's comedy, "As you find it," acted in 1703, and printed in 4to that year.

† See p. 22.

‡ Dr. John Hough, Biſhop of Oxford, 1691; of Litchfield and Coventry, 1699; of Worceſter, 1717. He died, full of years and honour, May 8, 1743.—"The ſweet and amiable character of this Prelate," ſays Dr. Naſh, in his Hiſtory of Worceſterſhire, "cannot be too much admired, or too highly extolled; he lived in this county 28 years

breaſt is full of tenderneſs and love for weak diſſenting

years beloved by every one; if he had any fault, it aroſe from an eaſineſs of temper, and too great partiality for his old and faithful ſervants. I cannot help remembering ſome traits of him, which, happening when I was a boy, and receiving from him frequent marks of civility and regard, have made ſtrong impreſſion on my mind, tho' to others they may appear trifling. His conſtant beverage after dinner, when upwards of 90 years of age, was ſtrong beer and ſugar; and any of his gueſts were ſure to ingratiate themſelves with him, that would partake of this cup, and ſay they liked it. One day after dinner a young clergyman, curate of a neighbouring pariſh, taking his leave, and making many awkward bows, ran againſt, and threw down on the floor, a favourite barometer of the Biſhop's: the young man was frightened, and extremely concerned; but the good old Prelate, with all the complacency poſſible, went to him, and ſaid, "Sir, do not be uneaſy: I have obſerved this glaſs almoſt daily for upwards of 70 years, and never ſaw it *ſo low* before." Some years before his death, he made it a rule to keep a thouſand pounds in the houſe, wherewith to pay ſome legacies and funeral expences: one day the collectors of the charity called "The Society for propagating the Goſpel in foreign parts" came to him, to apply for his contribution; the biſhop called his ſteward, and told him to give thoſe gentlemen 500l. The ſteward, who ſtood facing his lordſhip, and behind the collectors, made ſigns to his maſter, that it was too much; that he did not know

diſſenting conſciences, where Binckes's and Kimber-

know how to get the money. His lordſhip replied, "You are right, H. you think that I have not given enough; give the gentlemen 1000 l. you will find it in ſuch a place:" with which the old ſteward, though unwillingly, was forced to comply. Dr. Naſh has alſo given a curious letter from Bp. Hough to Mr. Sandby, relative to his portrait, writtten in a ſtrong firm hand, at the age of 91; and cites this excellent delineation of the Biſhop's character from the Perſian Letters of Lord Lyttelton: "At his firſt entrance into the world he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a zeal for the liberty of his country, and had a conſiderable ſhare in bringing on the Revolution that preſerved it. His principles never altered by his preferment. He never proſtituted his pen, nor debaſed his character, by party diſputes, or blind compliance. Though he is warmly ſerious in the belief of his religion, he is moderate to all who differ from him: he knows no diſtinction of party, but extends his good offices alike to whig and tory; a friend to Virtue under every denomination; an enemy to Vice under any colours. His health and old age are the effects of a temperate life, and a quiet conſcience: though he is now ſome years above fourſcore, nobody ever thought he lived too long, unleſs it was out of an impatience to ſucceed him. This excellent perſon entertained me with the greateſt humanity, and ſeemed to take a peculiar delight in being uſeful and inſtructive to a ſtranger. To tell thee the truth, Mirza, I was affected with the piety and virtue of this teacher: the Chriſtian religion

Kimberleys * are obdurate and inflexible. I am glad the buck pleased you so well; and must let you know, that a doe is not so good before the winter be over. I am, good Mr. Dean, your most affectionate friend and humble servant,

STANHOPE.

religion appeared so amiable in his character and manners, that if the force of education had not rooted Mahometism in my heart, he would certainly have made a convert of me."—Nor should Mr. Browne's elegant encomium on him, in his Latin poem, *De Animi Immortalitate*, be omitted:

Talis erat, gratâ semper quem mente recordor,
Ille, decus mitræ, libertatisque satelles,
(Dum tanti tempus propugnatoris egebat)
Houghius; hic, numeros prope centenarius omnes
Cum vitæ explerat; florenti plenus honore,
Sensibus integris, sine morbo, expersque doloris,
Vivendique Satur, sic vitâ exibat, ut actor
E scenâ egregius, toto plaudente theatro,
Aut qui post stadium summa cum laude peractum,
Victor Olympiacæ poscit sibi præmia palmæ.

II. 283.

* Jonathan Kimberley succeeded to his friend Binckes's prebendal stall in the cathedral church of Lichfield.

LET-

LETTER. XII.

Lord STANHOPE to Dean ATTERBURY.

MR. DEAN, Litchfield, Dec. 4, 1705.

I AM at this time ſo ill that I am ſcarce able to tell you I had your letter, or return you thanks for ſending me the fine diſcourſe you made before the Queen *. I am convinced, by the reading of it, that you had no aſſiſtance in your dull ſermon from the Earl of Orrery, any more than he had from you in the witty play he writ †. I am very much of your mind, that, ſhould GOD be ſo over-gracious as to favour us with miracles, they would make little or no impreſſion in the preſent age we live in. Libertines would not give any credit to them; for their own eaſe and tranquillity, becauſe that would give too great diſturbance to the luſts and vices they are totally devoted to. And truly I am of opinion (conſidering how mighty weak we all are in our natural ſimplicity) that, ſhould that wiſe man your Archbiſhop of Canter-

* "A ſtanding Revelation the beſt means of "Conviction:" from Luke xvi. 31. preached on Oct. 28, 1705.

† See note on p. 26.

bury

bury* ſee one riſe from the dead, he would, in a day or two afterwards, impute it to nothing but a dream, or, it may be, to the indigeſted fumes that aroſe from his eating too many black-puddings over-night. Thus trivial accidents, as a debauch of black-puddings and the like, may cloud human underſtandings ſo much, that the greateſt miracles would quickly loſe their efficacy with us poor mortals. I return you thanks for the two Addreſſes of Convocation you ſent me; and am, Sir, your very affectionate friend,

STANHOPE.

LETTER XIII.

Lord STANHOPE to Dean ATTERBURY.

MR. DEAN, Dec. 17, 1705.

I HAD a letter from you this day; and a very diverting one incloſed in it from a mad imaginary general †, who is ſo happy as to be fond of that which my father ‡ and all

* Dr. Teniſon was then Archbiſhop.

† Q. Duke of Marlborough?

‡ "Who was thought," ſays Dr. Maty, "to "have ſhared with his Maſter the affections of the "famous Lady Caſtlemaine, a treſpaſs which was "ſlightly reſented by the eaſy King."

the

the world, beſides himſelf, were weary of long ago. I think him (as Dryden ſays of the laſt Duke of Buckingham) *a happy madman* *; ſince he can at this time be pleaſed with Cleveland † for his bed-fellow, without ſo much as calling back the idea of *quantum mutatus ab illo*. I have reaſon to believe my kinſman the Brigadier ‡ will be pleaſed with

* Dryden's words of Zimri are, "Bleſt mad-"man!"

† Barbara, daughter and heir to William Villiers lord viſcount Grandiſon, and wife to Roger earl of Caſtlemaine. In 1670 ſhe was made baroneſs of Nonſuch, counteſs of Southampton, and dutcheſs of Cleveland, and died Oct. 9, 1709. "While the duke of Marlborough was an Enſign "of the guards," ſays the late Lord Cheſterfield, in his 136th Letter to his Son, "the Graces pro-"tected and promoted him; for the Dutcheſs of "Cleveland, then favourite miſtreſs to King "Charles the Second, ſtruck by thoſe very Graces, "gave him five thouſand pounds; with which he "immediately bought an annuity for his life, of "five hundred pounds a year, of my grandfather "Halifax; which was the foundation of his ſub-"ſequent fortune. His figure was beautiful; "but his manner was irreſiſtible, by either man or "woman."

‡ James Stanhope, afterwards created earl of Stanhope, the conqueror of Minorca, and father of the preſent earl. He was firſt couſin to this letter-writer's father.

any

any thing of yours; and I do not ſee which way it can be made more acceptable to him than by coming from your own hands. You ſhewed a great deal of reſpect and civility in ſending the Earl of Orrery your ſermon; elſe I believe his Lordſhip's taſte lies altogether now in ingenious and witty plays; or (it may be) his time is taken up with correcting the Engliſh Phalaris, ſo lately come out. I have often ſeen ſuch a virtuoſo as the Lord Lemſter * find fault with a copy in painting, when he never underſtood the excellency of the original. But I will not make applications. I muſt now quarrel with you, Mr. Dean of Carliſle, becauſe I am informed this day, that you have put out in print a mighty ingenious pamphlet, but that you have been pleaſed to father it upon one Mrs. Aſtell †, a female friend and witty companion of your wife's. Why could not the Dean of Carliſle have ſent me this pamphlet, as well as Prior's‡

* So created in 1692, the collector of many ancient Greek, Roman, and Egyptian ſtatues. He was grandfather to the preſent Earl of Pomfret.

† The pamphlet here alluded to was intituled, "The Chriſtian Religion as profeſſed by a Daughter of the Church of England, 1705," 8vo. See a letter of Dr. Atterbury relating to this lady, vol. I. p. 19.

‡ Letter to Monſ. Boileau Deſpreaux, occaſioned by the Victory at Blenheim in 1704.

verſes, or Feilding's* mad letter to Skipworth? I ſhall ſhortly deſire you and Dr. Smalridge to accept of a doe between you; and am, in the mean time, your moſt affectionate friend,

STANHOPE.

LETTER XIV.

Dr. SWIFT to Dean ATTERBURY.

SIR, Sept. 1, 1711.

I Congratulate with the college, the univerſity, and the kingdom, and condole with myſelf, upon your new dignity †. The virtue I would affect, by putting my own intereſts out of the caſe, has failed me in this juncture. I only conſider that I ſhall want your converſation, your friendſhip, your protection, and your good offices, when I can leaſt ſpare them ‡. I would have come among the

* A few days before the date of this letter Mr. Robert Feilding (better known by the name of *Beau Feilding*, and delineated in the Tatler N° 50. under the name of *Orlando the Fair*) had married the Dutcheſs of Cleveland, having married a former wife only ſixteen days before, and was then under proſecution. The letter abovementioned relates probably to that buſineſs; and the *mad imaginary General* in p. 31, was Feilding. See alſo p. 451.

† The Deanry of Chriſt-church.

‡ As the intimacy between theſe two great men had not then been of long ſtanding, it may be amuſing to trace its riſe and progreſs. About four months before the date of this letter, Swift had taken lodgings at Chelſea. "I got here," ſays he, "with

the crowd of thoſe who make you compliments on this occaſion, if I could have brought a chear-

" with Patrick and my portmanteau, for ſix-pence, " and pay ſix ſhillings a week for one ſilly room, " with confounded coarſe ſheets. I lodge juſt " over-againſt Dr. Atterbury's houſe; and yet " perhaps I ſhall not like the place the better for " that." Journal to Stella, April 26, 1711,— " I ſent over to Mrs. Atterbury, to know whether " I might wait on her, but ſhe is gone a-viſiting: " we have exchanged ſome compliments; but I " have not ſeen her yet." May 2.—" I did not go " to town to-day, it was ſo terrible rainy; nor " have I ſtirred out of my room till eight this " evening; when I croſſed the way, to ſee Mrs. At- " terbury, and thank her for her civilities. She " would needs ſend me ſome veal and ſmall-beer " and ale to-day at dinner." May 3.—" Dr. Freind " came this morning to viſit Atterbury's lady and " children, as phyſician; and perſuaded me to go " to town in his chariot." May 9.—" Since I came " home, I have been ſitting with the Prolocutor " Dean Atterbury, who is my neighbour over the " way, but generally keeps in town with his con- " vocation." May 14.—" I dined with Mr. Prior " to day, at his houſe, with Dean Atterbury and " others." May 16.—" I ſat with Dean Atterbury " till one o'clock, after I came home," May 18.— " I ſtaid at home till five o'clock, and dined with " Dean Atterbury; then went by water to Mr. " Harley's, where the Saturday's club was met," May 19.—" This is the firſt wet walk I have had " in a month's time that I came here; but how- " ever I got to bed, after a ſhort viſit to Atter- " bury," May 24.—" My Lord [Oxford] ſat me

a chearful countenance with me. I am full of envy. It is too much, in ſo bad an age, for

" down at a coffee-houſe, where I waited for the " Dean of Carliſle's chariot to bring me to Chel- " ſea; for it has rained prodigiouſly all this after- " noon. The Dean did not come himſelf, but " ſent me his chariot; which has coſt me two " ſhillings to the coachman; and ſo I am got " home; and Lord knows what is become of " Patrick!" May 25.—" It was bloody hot walk- " ing to-day; and I was ſo lazy I dined where " my new gown was, at Mrs. Vanhomrigh's *; and " came back like a fool, and the Dean of Carliſle " has ſat with me till eleven." May 28.—" I am " propoſing to my Lord to erect a ſociety or aca- " demy for correcting and ſettling our language, " that we may not perpetually be changing as we " do. He enters mightily into it; ſo does the " Dean of Carliſle." June 22.—Dr. Gaſtrell and I " dined by invitation with the Dean of Carliſle." June 23.—" They ſtill keep my neighbour Atter- " bury in ſuſpence about the deanry of Chriſt- " church †, which has been above ſix months va- " cant; and he is heartily angry." June 26.—" This is the laſt night I lie at Chelſea; and I got " home early, and ſat two hours with the Dean, and " eat victuals, having had a very ſcurvy dinner."

* " My way is this; I leave my beſt gown and perriwig at " Mrs. Vanhomrigh's, then walk up the Pall-mall, through the " Park, out at Buckingham-houſe, and ſo to Chelſea a little " beyond the church: I ſet out about ſun-ſet, and get here in " ſomething leſs than an hour; it is two good miles, and juſt five " thouſand ſeven hundred and forty-eight ſteps; ſo there is four " miles a day walking, without reckoning what I walk while I ſtay " in town." *Journal, May* 15.

† It was intended for his friend and ſucceſſor Dr. Smalridge.

July

for a perſon ſo inclined, and ſo able to do good, to have ſo great a ſcene of ſhewing his inclinations and abilities. If

July 4.—"This day I left Chelſea for good."
July 5.—"I walked to Chelſea, and was there "by nine this morning; and the Dean of Carliſle "and I croſſed the water to Batterſea, and went "in his chariot to Greenwich, where we dined at "Dr. Gaſtrell's, and paſſed the afternoon at Lewiſ-"ham, at the Dean of Canterbury's*; and there I "ſaw Moll Stanhope, who is grown monſtrouſly "tall, but not ſo handſome as formerly. It is the firſt "little rambling journey I have had this ſummer "about London; and they are the agreeableſt "paſtimes one can have, in a friend's coach and "good company." July 14.—Dean Atterbury "ſent to me to dine with him at Chelſea; I re-"fuſed his coach, and walked; and am come "back by ſeven." July 19.—"The Dean of Carliſle "ſat with me to-day till three." Aug. 21.—"I "walked to-day to Chelſea, and dined with the "Dean of Carliſle, who is laid up with the gout. "It is now fixed that he is to be Dean of Chriſt "church in Oxford. I was adviſing him to uſe "his intereſt to prevent any miſunderſtanding be-"tween our miniſters; but he is too wiſe to med-"dle, though he fears the thing and the conſe-"quences as much as I. He will get into his "own quiet Deanry, and leave them to them-"ſelves; and he is in the right." Aug. 28.—"To night at ſix Dr. Atterbury, and Prior, and I, "and Dr. Freind, met at Dr. Freind's houſe at "Weſtminſter, who is maſter of the ſchool: there "we ſat till one, and were good-enough company." Feb. 1, 1711-12.—"I viſited the Secretary, and

* Dr. Stanhope. See vol. I. p. 48.

If great miniſters take up this exploded cuſtom of rewarding merit, I muſt retire to Ireland, and wait for better times. The college and you ought to pray for another change at court, otherwiſe I can eaſily foretel that their joy and your quiet will be ſhort. Let me adviſe you to place your books in moveable caſes: lay in no great ſtock of wine, nor make any great alterations in your buildings at Chriſt-church, unleſs you are ſure they are ſuch as your ſucceſſor will approve and pay for. I am afraid the poor college little thinks of this,

"Qui nunc te fruitur credulus aureâ."

I am going to Windſor with Mr. Secretary *; and hope to wait on you either at Bridewell or Chelſea. I am, with great reſpect and eſteem, Sir, your moſt obedient, and moſt obliged humble ſervant, J. SWIFT.

"then walked to Chelſea, to dine with the Dean "of Chriſt-church; who was engaged to Lord "Orrery, with ſome other Chriſt-church men. He "made me go with him, whether I would or no; "for they have this long time admitted me a "Chriſt-church man." March 13, 1712. — "I "walked this morning to Chelſea, to ſee Dr. At-"terbury Dean of Chriſt-church; I had buſineſs "with him, about entering Mr. Fitzmaurice, Lord "Kerry's ſon, into his college." Feb. 24, 1712-13.

* St. John. See Journal to Stella, Sept. 1, 1711.

LET-

LETTER XV.

Dean SWIFT to Bp. ATTERBURY.

MY LORD, The Country in Ireland, Aug. 3, 1713.

IT is with the greateſt pleaſure I heard of your Lordſhip's promotion; I mean that particular promotion * which I believe is agreeable to you, though it does not mend your fortune. There is but one other change I could wiſh you, becauſe I have heard you prefer it before all the reſt; and that likewiſe is now ready †, unleſs it be thought too ſoon, and that you are made to wait till another perſon has uſed it for a ſtep to croſs the water ‡. Though I am here in a way of ſinking into utter oblivion, for *hæ latebræ nec dulces, nec, ſi mihi credis, amœnæ*; yet I ſhall challenge the continuance of your Lordſhip's favour: and whenever I come to London,

* The Deanry of Weſtminſter and Biſhoprick of Rocheſter. Dr. Atterbury was inſtalled Dean June 16, and conſecrated Biſhop July 4, 1713.

† The Biſhoprick of London was then vacant by the death of Dr. Compton, who died July 7, 1713.

‡ To Lambeth.

ſhall with great aſſurance croſs the Park to your Lordſhip's houſe at Weſtminſter, as if it were no more than croſſing the ſtreet at Chelſea *. I talked at this threatening rate ſo often to you about two years paſt, that you are not now to forget it.

Pray, my Lord, do not let your being made a Biſhop hinder you from cultivating the politer ſtudies, which your heart was ſet upon when you went to govern Chriſt-church. Providence has made you ſucceſſor to a perſon †, who, though of a much inferior genius, turned all his thoughts that way; and, I have been told, with great ſucceſs, by his countenance to thoſe who deſerved. I envy Dr. Freind ‡ that he has you for his inſpector; and I envy you for having ſuch a perſon in your diſtrict, and whom you love ſo well. Shall not I have liberty to be ſometimes a third amongſt you, though I am an Iriſh Dean?

Vervecum in patriâ craſſoque ſub aëre natus ||.

A very diſordered head hindered me from writing earlier to your Lordſhip, when I firſt

* See the note in p. 34. † Bp. Sprat.

‡ Dr. Robert Freind, then head-maſter of Weſtminſter-ſchool.

|| Juvenal, Sat. X. 50.

heard

heard of your preferment; and I have reproached myſelf of ingratitude, when I remembered your kindneſs in ſending me a letter upon the Deanry they thought fit to throw me into; to which I am yet a ſtranger, being forced into the country, in one of my old pariſhes *, to ride about for a little health. I hope to have the honour of aſking your Lordſhip's bleſſing ſome time in October. In the mean while, I deſire your Lordſhip to believe me to be, with very great reſpect and truth, my Lord, your Lordſhip's moſt dutiful and moſt humble ſervant,

J. SWIFT.

LETTER XVI.

MATTHEW PRIOR, Eſq. to Bp. ATTERBURY.

MY LORD, Paris, March 23, 1714.

AT the ſame time that I congratulate your ſucceſſion to the Houſe of Lords, and your being in power to continue your zeal for the Church, and your ſervices to the Nation, I take leave to recommend a private

* Laracor and Rathbeggin.

charity

charity to you; that you would take Henry Gheſt (of whoſe parts and learning Dr. Freind will give your Lordſhip an account) to our well-beloved college of Chriſt-church. This is mortification enough for a Cambridge-man to aſk; but I perſuade myſelf Dr. Atterbury will not deny my requeſt. I am, with great reſpect, my good Lord and dear ſchool-fellow, your moſt obedient and moſt humble ſervant,

M. PRIOR.

LETTER XVII.

Lord Chancellor HARCOURT * to Bp. ATTERBURY.

MY LORD, Tueſday evening, Aug. 10, 1714.

MY neglect of writing † is inexcuſable. I doubt it may be juſtly taken as an affront. I am determined now to do it, late as it is. An ill excuſe is worſe than none. My ſtation ‡ will excuſe the preſumption. I wiſh I had your thoughts to-morrow morning, in writing; pray ſend me two lines if I

* Created Viſcount Harcourt in 1721. He was great grandfather to the preſent Earl.

† To K. George I. then juſt arrived from Hanover.

‡ Which his Lordſhip did not long retain; being ſucceeded by Lord Cowper Sept. 21, 1714.

muſt

muſt ſee you no more. To excuſe the neglect, to juſtify the preſumption, and not appear mean, under the apprehenſions I ought to have of being removed, are matters to be nicely conſidered. Your faithful ſervant,

HARCOURT.

Whatever I write, will be certainly ſhewn.

LETTER XVIII.

Bp. ATTERBURY to Lord Chancellor HARCOURT.

MY LORD, Weſtminſter, Aug. 11, 1714.

HAD I any reaſon to think your Lordſhip could want my aſſiſtance in any thing, I would not ſtir from the town: but I am far from that vanity. In the preſent caſe, I am ſure, there is no need of me; for my poor opinion is, that the more plainly and nakedly, and without reſerve, your Lordſhip expreſſes your mind in that letter, the more welcome it will be.

There is no art requiſite towards giving him * proper aſſurances that he has not a more faithful ſubject within his dominions,

* King George the Firſt.

nor

nor one that deſires more to approve himſelf ſuch by real ſervices; [and] that you thought the beſt ſervice you could do at this important juncture, was to make uſe of any advantage your ſtation might give you, towards uniting the hands and hearts of all his ſubjects, and ſecuring the quiet of his kingdoms.

There is one way of addreſſing him indeed, which would require more ſkill; that is, if your Lordſhip thought fit to write, not merely as a ſingle perſon, but in ſome meaſure as the head of an intereſt. This I could wiſh your Lordſhip would do, and would take the ſteps proper to enable you to do it; but I do not find your Lordſhip ſo diſpoſed; and therefore am ſilent on that ſubject *. I am your Lordſhip's ever faithful and obedient ſervant, FR. ROFFEN.

* "It was with difficulty Queen Anne was perſuaded to make Atterbury a Biſhop; which ſhe did at laſt, on the repeated importunities of Lord Harcourt, who preſſed the Queen to do it, becauſe ſhe had before diſappointed him, in not placing Sacheverell on the Bench. After her deceaſe, Atterbury vehemently urged his friends to proclaim the Pretender; and on their refuſal, upbraided them for their timidity with many oaths; for he was accuſtomed to ſwear, on any ſtrong provocation." Dr. WARTON.

LET-

LETTER XIX.

Dean SWIFT to Bp. ATTERBURY *.

MY LORD, Dublin, March 24, 1715-16.

AS much as your Lordſhip's thoughts and time are employed at preſent, you muſt give me leave to interrupt them, and, which is worſe, for a trifle; though, by the accidents of time and party, of ſome conſequence and great vexation to me. I am here at the head of three-and-twenty dignitaries and prebendaries, whereof the major part, differing from me in principles, have taken a fancy to oppoſe me upon all occaſions in the chapter-houſe; and a ringleader among them hath preſumed to debate my power of propoſing, or my negative, though it is what the Deans of this cathedral have poſſeſſed for time immemorial, and what hath never been once diſputed. Our conſtitution was taken from that of Sarum; and the knowledge of what is practiſed there in

* See the Biſhop's anſwer to this letter in vol. I. p. 30.

the

the like caſe would be of great uſe to me. I have written this poſt to Dr. Younger *, to deſire

* Dean of Saliſbury. See vol. I. p. 30.—"When "Dr. Younger was abroad upon his travels, he "paſſed ſome time at the court of Hanover, "where he was well received and eſteemed, by "the Princeſs Sophia and her family, before "ever they came into England. When George I. "ſucceeded to the throne, Dr. Younger was Dean "of Saliſbury, Reſidentiary of St. Paul's, and De-"puty Clerk of the Cloſet, in which ſtation he had "ſerved under Queen Anne, and was continued "under George I. The King was very glad to "renew his acquaintance with him; and in the "cloſet, as he ſtood waiting behind his chair, "turned often, and talked with him; and the "more as Dr. Younger did, what few could do, "converſe with the King in High Dutch. The "King uſed to call him *his little Dean*, and was "ſo condeſcending and gracious to him, that he "was looked upon, in ſome meaſure, as a favou-"rite, and likely to riſe to higher preferment. "This was by no means agreeable to the Miniſ-"ters; for Dr. Younger was reputed to be what "they called a Tory; and a letter of office was "ſent to diſmiſs him, the King having no farther "occaſion for his ſervice. It was not long before "the King miſſed him, and aſked 'What was "become of his little Dean, that now he never "ſaw him?'—It was anſwered, 'That he was "dead.'—'Dead! ſaid the King, I am ſorry for "it; for I meant to do ſomething for him.' This "the Miniſters underſtood well enough; and "therefore had removed him out of the way.

deſire he would inform me in this matter; but having only a ſlender acquaintance with him, I would beg your Lordſhip to ſecond my requeſt, that the Dean would pleaſe to let me know the practice of his cathedral and his power in this point. I would likewiſe deſire your Lordſhip to let me know how it is at Weſtminſter, and the two other Deanries you had, and in any other Cathedrals with whoſe cuſtoms you may be acquainted.

"Such an impoſition, one would think, could "hardly be put upon any Prince. It was a bold "ſtroke, even when the King was a ſtranger to "our people, and a ſtranger to our language; but "even then it did not eſcape detection. For, "ſome time after, the King went a progreſs into "the Weſt of England; and among other places "was at Saliſbury, and in the cathedral there "ſeeing the Dean, he called him eagerly up to "him, and ſaid, 'My little Dean, I am glad to "ſee you alive; they told me you were dead: but "where have you been all this while, and what has "prevented my ſeeing you as uſual?' He men-"tioned the letter of diſmiſſion he had re-"ceived; and ſaid, 'He thought it would ill be-"come him after that to give his Majeſty any "further trouble.'—'Oh!' ſaid the King, warmly, "'I perceive how this matter is; but—with an "oath—you ſhall be the firſt Biſhop that I will "make.' But it happened that Dr. Younger, "being advanced in years, died before any Biſhop, "ſo that he never obtained the good effects of the "King's gracious intentions." BP. NEWTON.

Pray,

Pray, my Lord, pardon this idle requeſt from one that loves and eſteems you, as you know I do. I once thought it would never be my misfortune to entertain you at ſo ſcurvy a rate, at leaſt not at ſo great a diſtance, or with ſo much conſtraint.

" Sis felix, noſtrumque leves [I do not like
" *quicunque*] laborem
" Et quo ſub cœlo tandem quibus orbis in oris
" Jactemur, doceas."

The greateſt felicity I now have is, that I am utterly ignorant of the moſt public events that happen in the world; " *Multa gemens* * " *ignominiam plagaſque*," &c. I am, with the greateſt reſpect and truth, my Lord, your Lordſhip's moſt dutiful and moſt humble ſervant,

J. SWIFT.

* This phraſe ſeems to have been deeply impreſſed on the Dean's mind. He uſes it again in a letter to Mr. Pope, Oct. 30, 1727; " I forgave " Sir Robert a thouſand pounds, *multa gemens*."

LET-

LETTER XXII.

Dean SWIFT to Bp. ATTERBURY.

MY LORD, April 18, 1716.

I AM extremely obliged to your Lordſhip for the trouble you have given yourſelf in anſwering at length a very inſignificant letter. I ſhall entirely follow your Lordſhip's advice, to the beſt of my ſkill. Your conjecture from whence my difficulties take their riſe are perfectly true. It is all party. But the right is certainly on my ſide, if there be any thing in conſtant immemorial cuſtom. Beſides, though the firſt ſcheme of this cathedral was brought from Sarum, yet, by ſeveral ſubſequent grants, from Popes, Kings, Archbiſhops, and Acts of Parliament, the Dean has great prerogatives. He viſits the Chapter as Ordinary, and the Archbiſhop only viſits by the Dean. The Dean can ſuſpend and ſequeſter any member, and puniſhes all crimes except hereſy, and one or two more reſerved for the Archbiſhop. No leaſe can be let without him. He holds a court-leet in his diſtrict, and is exempt from the Lord Mayor, &c. No Chapter can be called but by him, and he diſſolves them at pleaſure. He diſpoſes abſolutely of the Petty

Canons and Vicars Choral places. All the Dignitaries, &c. ſwear canonical obedience to him. Theſe circumſtances put together, I preſume, may alter the caſe in your Lordſhip's judgement. However, I ſhall, as your Lordſhip directs me, do my utmoſt to divert this controverſy as much as I can. I muſt add one thing, that no Dignitary can preſide without a power from the Dean, who, in his abſence, makes a Sub-dean, and limits him as he pleaſes. And ſo much for Deanries, which I hope I ſhall never trouble your Lordſhip with again.

I ſend this incloſed, and without ſuperſcription, to be ſent or delivered to you by a famous friend of mine, and devoted ſervant of your Lordſhip's.

I congratulate with England for joining with us here in the fellowſhip of *ſlavery*. It is not ſo terrible a thing as you imagine; we have long lived under it, and whenever you are diſpoſed to know how you ought to behave yourſelves in your new condition, you need go no further than me for a director. But becauſe we are reſolved to go beyond you, we have tranſmitted a bill to England, to be returned here, giving the government, and ſix of the council, power for three years, to impriſon

imprison whom they please for *three months*, without any trial or examination: and *I* expect to be among the first of those upon whom this law will be executed. We have also outdone you in the business of Ben Hoadly, and have recommended to a Bishoprick one * whom you would not allow a Curate in the smallest of your parishes. Does your Lordship know that, as much as I have been used to lies in England, I am under a thousand uneasinesses about some reports relating to a person † that you and I love very well? I have writ to a lady ‡ upon that subject,

* Dr. Charles Carr, bishop of Killaloe.

† When the incurable breach arose between the two great ministers of Queen Anne, Bishop Atterbury took a decided part with Bolingbroke. On this occasion Mr. Lewis tells Dr. Swift [Aug. 10, 1714] "The earth has not produced such monsters "as Mercurialis [Bolingbroke], and his compa- "nion [Harcourt], and the prelate [Atterbury]. "The last openly avows he never had obligations "to the dragon [Oxford], and loads him with ten "thousand crimes; though his greatest, in reality, "was preferring him."

‡ Lady Bolingbroke; who, in her answer, dated Aug. 4, 1716, says, "To my misfortune, "I am still kept in town, soliciting my unfortu- "nate business. I have found great favour from "his Majesty. But form is a tedious thing to "wait upon. Since it is my fate, I must bear it "with patience, and perfect it if I can; for there

ject, and am impatient for an anſwer. I am gathering up a thouſand pounds, and intend to finiſh my life upon the intereſt of it in Wales.

GOD ALMIGHTY preſerve your Lordſhip, *miſeris ſuccurrere rebus*, whether you underſtand or reliſh Latin or no. But it is a great deal your fault if you ſuffer us *all to be undone*; for *God never gave ſuch talents without expecting they ſhould be uſed to preſerve a nation.* There is a Doctor * in your neighbourhood to whom I am a very humble ſervant. I am, with great reſpect, your Lordſhip's moſt dutiful, &c. J. SWIFT.

Some perſons go this ſummer for England; and if Dr. Younger be talked with, I hope you will ſo order it that it may not be to my diſadvantage †.

" is nothing like following buſineſs one's ſelf. I " am unwilling to ſtir without the ſeals, which I " hope to have ſoon. I hope, one time or other, " his majeſty will find my lord has been miſrepre- " ſented; and, by that means, he may be re- " ſtored to his country once more with honour; " or elſe, however harſh it may ſound out of my " mouth, I had rather wear black."

* Dr. R. Freind; from whom there is a letter to Swift in the Dean's Works, in which he ſays, " The Biſhop [Atterbury] and my brother are " much yours, and very deſirous of a happy meet- " ing with you. Before this can be with you, you " will be able to gueſs how ſoon that may happen."

† Q. An exchange for the Deanry of Sarum?

LET-

LETTER XXI.

Dean SWIFT to Bp. ATTERBURY.

MY LORD, Dublin, July 18, 1717.

SOME perſons of diſtinction, lately come from England, and not unknown to your Lordſhip, have made me extremely pleaſed and proud, by telling me that your Lordſhip was ſo generous as to defend me againſt an idle ſtory that paſſed in relation to a letter of mine to the Archbiſhop of Dublin. I have correſponded for many years with his Grace, though we generally differed in politicks, and therefore our letters had often a good mixture of controverſy. I confeſs likewiſe that I have been his Grace's advocate, where he had not many others. About nine months ago I writ a letter to him in London (for in my little ſtation it is convenient there ſhould be ſome commerce between us); and in a ſhort time after I had notice from ſeveral friends, that a paſſage in my letter was ſhewn * to ſeveral perſons, and a conſequence

* "I am told, the archbiſhop of Dublin ſhews "a letter of yours, reflecting on the high-flying "clergy.

drawn from thence, that I was wholly gone over to other principles more in faſhion, and wherein I might better find my account. I neglected this report, as thinking it might ſoon die; but found it gathered ſtrength, and ſpread to Oxford, and this kingdom; and ſome gentlemen, who lately arrived here, aſſured me they had met it an hundred times, with all the circumſtances of diſadvantage that are uſually tacked to ſuch ſtories by the great candour of mankind. It ſhould ſeem as if I were ſomebody of importance; and if ſo, I ſhould think the wiſhes not only of my friends, but of my party, might diſpoſe them rather to believe me innocent, than condemn me unheard. Upon the firſt intelligence I had of this affair, I made a ſhift to recollect the only paſſage in that letter which could be any way liable to miſinterpretation. I told the Archbiſhop—we had an account of a ſett of people in London, who were erecting a new church, upon the maxim that every thing was void, ſince the Revolution, in the church as well as the ſtate—that all prieſts muſt be re-ordained, biſhops again

"clergy. I fancy you have writ to him in an "*ironical* ſtyle, and that he would have it other-"wiſe underſtood." *Mr. Lewis to Dean Swift*, Jan. 12, 1716-17.

conſe-

conſecrated, and in like manner of the reſt—that I knew not what there was in it of truth—that it was impoſſible ſuch a ſcheme ſhould ever paſs—and that I believed if the court, upon this occaſion, would ſhew ſome good-will to the church, diſcourage thoſe who ill-treated the clergy, &c. it would be the moſt popular thing they could think of.—I keep no copies of letters; but this, I am confident, was the ſubſtance of what I wrote; and that every other line in the letter which mentioned public affairs would have atoned for this, if it had been a crime, as I think it was not in that juncture, whatever may be my opinion at preſent; for, I confeſs, my thoughts change every week, like thoſe of a man in an incurable conſumption, who daily finds himſelf more and more decay.

The trouble I now give your Lordſhip is an ill return to your goodneſs in defending me; but it is the uſual reward of goodneſs, and therefore you muſt be content. In the mean time, I am in an hopeful ſituation, torn to pieces by pamphleteers and libellers on that ſide the water, and by the whole body of the ruling party on this; againſt which all the obſcurity I live in will not defend me. Since I came laſt to this kingdom,

it hath been the conſtant advice of all my church-friends, that I ſhould be more cautious. To oppoſe me in every thing relating to my ſtation, is made a merit in my Chapter; and I ſhall probably live to make ſome Biſhops as poor, as Luther made many rich. I profeſs to your Lordſhip, that what I have been writing is only with regard to the good opinion of your Lordſhip, and of a very few others with whom you will think it of any conſequence to an honeſt man that he ſhould be ſet right. I am ſorry that thoſe who call themſelves Churchmen ſhould be induſtrious to have it thought that their number is leſſened, even by ſo inconſiderable an one as myſelf. But I am ſufficiently recompenſed, that your Lordſhip knows me beſt, to whom I am ſo ambitious to be beſt known. GOD be thanked, I have but a few to ſatisfy. The bulk of my cenſurers are ſtrangers, or ill judges, or worſe than either; and if they will not obey your orders to correct their ſentiments of me, they will meet their puniſhment in your Lordſhip's diſapprobation; which I would not incur for all their good words put together, and printed in twelve volumes folio. I am, with great reſpect, my Lord, your Lordſhip's moſt dutiful, and moſt humble ſervant, J. SWIFT.

LETTER XXII.

Mr. PRIOR to Bp. ATTERBURY.

MY DEAR LORD, Weſtminſter, Aug. 25, 1718.

MR. Clough (my godſon) whom, according to my promiſe made for him at the font, I have not only bred a Chriſtian, but a Clergyman, tells me, that the vicarage of Dartford is vacant, by the death of Mr. Price; and that he has a mind to ſucceed him in a place which may give him opportunity of doing good, and learning more ſo to do, by being under your Lordſhip's juriſdiction and government. If your Lordſhip is of the ſame opinion, I hope he will obtain what he deſires, and I believe deſerves; and I am ſure my writing in his behalf will do him no diſſervice. I would add more, but by a confounded diſtemper (which we phyſicians call *Morbus Cholera**, and which you divines would heretofore have been addicted to think the poſſeſſion of devils), I can hold my pen no longer than to ſay, *dum ſpiritus hos regat artus*, I am entirely, my good Lord, yours,

M. PRIOR.

* Flux and vomiting. *Weſley.*

LET-

LETTER XXIII.

Bp. ATTERBURY to Mr. PRIOR.

DEAR SIR, Bromley, Aug. 26, 1718.

THE firſt news I heard of your being ill, was under your own hand. It was a pleaſure to me to find that the worſt of your illneſs was over. I am well acquainted with that diſtemper, having ſmarted ſeverely under it myſelf; and depend upon it, it is an acquaintance that will not eaſily be ſhook off: You will hear more of it, if you give it the leaſt encouragement to renew its viſits. But temperance, good hours, and a little exerciſe (to all which you are well inclined), will keep it at a diſtance. Mr. Clough, as early as he was, came too late. I had already diſpoſed of the living *. However, I frankly ſaid to him, what I now ſay to you, that, if I had not been engaged, I ſhould not have been willing to give it him. It is a vicarage in a great market-town, which requires perpetual reſidence, and he has another vicarage, which, with his minor-canonry †, is of a value equal to

* To Mr. Charles Chambers, who was collated to it Sept. 20, 1718.

† Of Rocheſter, by which Dean and Chapter Mr. John Clough was preſented to the vicarage of Aſhford in Kent, in Auguſt, 1721. He died Dec. 4, 1764.

that

that of Dartford, and which he had no thoughts of quitting, but hoped to have made both conſiſtent. That is a ſcheme which I can no way approve, eſpecially in a young ſingle man, who does not want a tolerable ſupport; for he has a good £. 100 *per annum* now coming in. So much for his affair, upon which I can fully juſtify myſelf when I ſee you—but when will that be? Do you remember the ſolemn promiſe you made me of coming over hither this ſummer? You have but a little time left to keep your word in. I have expected you with impatience; my peaches and nectarines hung on the trees for you till they rotted; and one of my poetical neighbours, who obſerved my uneaſineſs, and thought I liked your company better than his, applied theſe verſes of Virgil to me:

Mirabar, quid *mœſte* Deos, *Franciſce*, vocares:
Cui pendere ſuâ patereris in arbore poma.
Tityrus hinc aberat: ipſæ te, Tityre, pinus,
Ipſi te fontes, ipſa hæc arbuſta vocabant *.

* Oft, Amaryllis, I with wonder heard
Thy vows to heaven in ſoft diſtreſs preferr'd:
With wonder oft thy lingering fruits ſurvey'd;
Nor knew for whom the bending branches ſtay'd:
'Twas Tit'rus was away—for thee detain'd,
The pines, the ſhrubs, the bubbling ſprings complain'd. Dr. WARTON.

And

And what excuſe ſhall I make for Tityrus; that he neglected his little friends for the ſake of his great ones, that he was paying his court, and getting the colic? You know what Tityrus ſays for himſelf in the lines that follow:

Quid facerem? neque ſervitio me exire licebat,
Nec tam præſentes alibi cognoſcere divos *.

Would I could ſay of any one of thoſe *divi* in your name, as he does in his own,

Ille meas errare boves, ut cernis, et ipſum
Ludere quæ vellem calamo permiſit agreſti †!

Thoſe two words *quæ vellem* touch me to the very heart: they are worth the whole eclogue.

You ſee what a deluge of Latin poetry you have drawn on yourſelf, by that half line of Virgil at the end of your letter. I cannot end mine without obſerving to you upon it the advantage which the copy in this caſe has over the original. Virgil, in thoſe five little words, *dum ſpiritus hos reget artus*, has ex-

* What could I do? where elſe expect to find
One glimpſe of freedom, or a god ſo kind?
Dr. WARTON.

† He gave my oxen, as thou ſee'ſt, to ſtray,
And me, at eaſe, my favourite ſtrains to play.
Ibid.

preſſed

preſſed the whole force of a line and half in Homer,

εἰσόκ' ἀϋτμὴ
Ἐν ϛήθεσσι μένῃ, καί μοι φίλα γούνατ' ὀρώρῃ *.

Reget artus takes in all that Homer means, and leaves out nothing but the particular mention of φίλα γούνατα (friendly knees), which adds not to the beauty or ſtrength of the image, and is therefore better omitted than expreſſed.

The riſe of this reflection is from the gout, which has at preſent laid hold of me; ſhould it take away the uſe of my φίλα γούνατα, I ſhould be nevertheleſs yours, becauſe I am ſo while I breathe.

To-day, to-morrow, always; at Bromley, at Weſtminſter, every where; in Greek, in Latin, in Engliſh, and (which is more) in good earneſt †, I am, Sir, your faithful humble ſervant, FR. ROFFEN.

* "Whilſt life's warm ſpirit beats within my "breaſt." POPE.

Literally,

—while breath within my breaſt remains,
And moves my friendly knees.

† The Biſhop and Prior were not always on theſe good terms. See what his Lordſhip ſays of him, after his death, in a letter to Pope, in the firſt volume of this collection, p. 79.

LET-

LETTER XXIV.

Mr. PRIOR to Bp. ATTERBURY.

MY LORD, Rikings, Sept. 3, 1718.

YOU have done, as you do commonly, very right in Clough's affair; or, if you had not, I forgive you all, for the kindneſs of your letter; and will tell you ſo on Saturday. The word *Franciſce* was worth ten of your maſter's *quæ vellem's*, and gave me more delight than a whole epiſtle from any hand elſe. Why do not I write more to you? Becauſe you write too well for me or any body elſe. And, though I cannot rightly expreſs it, I mean to ſay ſomething, by which you would underſtand that I doubt whether I more admire or love you. Pray turn that thought in your own way, and then let me ſay I wrote it. You cannot oblige me more, except by continuing to me the honour of your friendſhip. I am well again, but have left London for a day or two; that, with my dear Lord Bathurſt, I may get ſomething better than the colic. Adieu, my Lord: I am ever and entirely yours, M. PRIOR.

LET-

LETTER XXV.

Mr. POPE to Bp. ATTERBURY.

MY LORD, [Stanton Harcourt,] Sept. 8, 1718.

I HAVE long had a deſire to write to your Lordſhip, though I cannot imagine to what end; ſince it is not any thing I can ſay upon paper that can give you any title to me which you have not already, or (I hope) tell you any part of my reſpect or eſteem which you know not already. But I have got a ſort of a ſubject for blotting this, by means of an accident which has happened here: a young man and woman were deſtroyed by one ſtroke of lightning, who were contracted in marriage ſome days before *. They were people of

* The melancholy fate of theſe lovers is thus pathetically related by Mr. Gay:

"Stanton-Harcourt, Aug. 9, 1718.

"The only news that you can expect to have "from me here is news from heaven, for I am "quite out of the world, and there is ſcarce any "thing can reach me, except the noiſe of thun-"der, which undoubtedly you have heard too. "We have read in old authors of high towers "levelled

of a very good character; yet the country here are ready to riſe againſt their miniſter for

" levelled by it to the ground, while the humble
" valleys have eſcaped: the only thing that is
" proof againſt it is the laurel, which, however,
" I take to be no great ſecurity to the brains of
" modern authors. But to let you ſee that the
" contrary to this often happens, I muſt acquaint
" you, that the higheſt and moſt extravagant heap
" of towers in the univerſe, which is in this neigh-
" bourhood, ſtand ſtill undefaced, while a cock
" of barley in our next field has been conſumed
" to aſhes. Would to God that this heap of
" barley had been all that had periſhed! for un-
" happily beneath this little ſhelter ſat two much
" more conſtant lovers than ever were found in
" romance under the ſhade of a beech-tree. John
" Hewet was a well-ſet man of about five and
" twenty; Sarah Drew might be rather called
" comely than beautiful, and was about the ſame
" age. They had paſſed through the various la-
" bours of the year together, with the greateſt
" ſatisfaction; if ſhe milked, it was his morning
" and evening care to bring the cows to her hand;
" it was but laſt fair that he bought her a preſent
" of green ſilk for her ſtraw hat, and the poſie on
" her ſilver ring was of his chuſing. Their love
" was the talk of the whole neighbourhood; for
" ſcandal never affirmed, that they had any other
" views than the lawful poſſeſſion of each other
" in marriage. It was that very morning that he
" had obtained the conſent of her parents; and it
" was but till the next week that they were to
" wait to be happy. Perhaps in the intervals of

" their

for allowing them Chriſtian burial. They cannot get it out of their heads but ſo remarkable

"their work they were now talking of their wedding cloaths, and John was ſuiting ſeveral ſorts "of poppies and field-flowers to her complexion, "to chuſe her a knot for the wedding-day. While "they were thus buſied (it was on the laſt of July "between two and three in the afternoon) the "clouds grew black, and ſuch a ſtorm of lightning and thunder enſued, that all the labourers "made the beſt of their way to what ſhelter the "trees and hedges afforded. Sarah was frighted, "and fell down in a ſwoon on a heap of barley. "John, who never ſeparated from her, ſat down "by her ſide, having raked together two or three "heaps, the better to ſecure her from the ſtorm. "Immediately there was heard ſo loud a crack, as "if heaven had ſplit aſunder; every one was now "ſolicitous for the ſafety of his neighbour, and "called to one another throughout the field: no "anſwer being returned to thoſe who called to "our lovers, they ſtept to the place where they "lay; they perceived the barley all in a ſmoke, "and then ſpied this faithful pair: John with one "arm about Sarah's neck, and the other held over "her, as to ſkreen her from the lightning. They "were ſtruck dead, and ſtiffened in this tender "poſture. Sarah's left eye-brow was ſinged, and "there appeared a black ſpot on her breaſt: her "lover was all over black, but not the leaſt ſigns "of life were found in either. Attended by their "melancholy companions, they were conveyed "to the town, and the next day were interred in "Stanton-Harcourt church-yard. My Lord Har-

markable a death was a judgement from God. It is pleaſant enough to conſider, that people who fancy themſelves good Chriſtians ſhould be ſo abſurd as to think the ſame misfortunes, when they befall others, a puniſhment of vice; and, when they happen to themſelves, an exerciſe of virtue. I would try to do ſome ſervice in procuring the following epitaph * to be

" court, at Mr. Pope's and my requeſt, has cauſed " a ſtone to be placed over them, upon condition " that we furniſhed the epitaph, which is as fol- " lows:

" When Eaſtern lovers feed the funeral fire,
" On the ſame pile the faithful pair expire:
" Here pitying heaven that virtue mutual found,
" And blaſted both, that it might neither wound.
" Hearts ſo ſincere th'Almighty ſaw well-pleas'd,
" Sent his own lightning, and the victims ſeiz'd.

" But my Lord is apprehenſive the country people " will not underſtand this, and Mr. Pope ſays he " will make one with ſomething of ſcripture in it, " and with as little of poetry as Hopkins and " Sternhold."

* The epitaph, as placed in the pariſh church, was this:

" Near this place lie the bodies of
" JOHN HEWET and MARY DREW,
" an induſtrious young man
" and virtuous maiden of this pariſh;

" Who

be ſet over them, or ſomething to this purpoſe. I ſend it to your Lordſhip for your opinion *, both as to the doctrine and the poetry;

"Who being at harveſt-work
"(with ſeveral others)
"were in one inſtant killed by lightning
"the laſt day of July, 1718.

'Think not by rigorous judgement ſeiz'd
"A pair ſo faithful could expire;
'Victims ſo pure Heaven ſaw well pleas'd,
"And ſnatch'd them in celeſtial fire.

"Live well, and fear no ſudden fate;
'When God calls Virtue to the grave,
"Alike 'tis juſtice, ſoon or late;
"Mercy alike to kill or ſave!

"Virtue unmov'd can hear the call,
"And face the flaſh that melts the ball!"

In the church of Stanton-Harcourt is alſo Pope's epitaph on the grandfather of the preſent earl.

* Theſe lines, in Pope's Letter to the Biſhop, are exactly the ſame as thoſe printed in the preceding note.

Mr. Pope ſeems to have been very ſolicitous about this epitaph, and to have entered deeply into the diſtreſs of the young lovers. By the following letter to him from Lady Wortley Montagu, it appears, that Lady had alſo been conſulted on the ſubject:

"Dover, Nov. 1, O. S. 1718.

"I HAVE this minute received a letter of "yours ſent me from Paris. I believe and hope I

poetry; as I am very certain, nothing is either fit for the church or the publick which is not agreeable to your ſentiments.

I beg

" ſhall very ſoon ſee both you and Mr. Congreve; " but as I am here in an inn, where we ſtay to " regulate our march to London, bag and bag- " gage, I ſhall employ ſome of my leiſure time in " anſwering that part of yours that ſeems to require " an anſwer.

" I muſt applaud your good-nature in ſuppoſing " that your paſtoral lovers (vulgarly called hay- " makers) would have lived in everlaſting joy and " harmony, if the lightning had not interrupted " their ſcheme of happineſs. I ſee no reaſon " to imagine, that John Hughes [Hewet] and Sarah " Drew were either wiſer or more virtuous than " their neighbours. That a well-ſet man of twen- " ty-five ſhould have a fancy to marry a brown " woman of eighteen, is nothing marvellous; and " I cannot help thinking, that, had they married, " their lives would have paſſed in the common " track with their fellow-pariſhioners. His en- " deavouring to ſhield her from a ſtorm was a na- " tural action, and what he would have certainly " done for his horſe, if he had been in the ſame " ſituation. Neither am I of opinion that their " ſudden death was a reward of their mutual vir- " tue. You know the Jews were reproved for " thinking a village deſtroyed by fire more wicked " than thoſe that had eſcaped the thunder. Time " and chance happen to all men. Since you " deſire me to try my ſkill in an epitaph, I think

" the

I beg you, my Lord, not to ſpare me one word that is put in for the ſake of rhime. I know

" the following lines perhaps more juſt, though " not ſo poetical as yours.

" Here lie John Hughes * and Sarah Drew;
" Perhaps you'll ſay, What's that to you?
" Believe me, friend, much may be ſaid
" On that poor couple that are dead.
" On Sunday next they ſhould have married;
" But ſee how oddly things are carried!
" On Thurſday laſt it rain'd and lighten'd:
" Theſe tender lovers, ſadly frighten'd,
" Shelter'd beneath the cocking hay,
" In hopes to paſs the time away.
" But the bold thunder found them out
" (Commiſſion'd for that end, no doubt);
" And, ſeizing on their trembling breath,
" Conſign'd them to the ſhades of death.
" Who knows if 'twas not kindly done?
" For, had they ſeen the next year's ſun,
" A beaten wife and cuckold ſwain
" Had jointly curs'd the marriage chain;
" Now they are happy in their doom,
" For POPE has wrote upon their tomb."

" I confeſs theſe ſentiments are not altogether " ſo heroic as yours †; but I hope you will for- " give them, in favour of the two laſt lines. You " ſee how much I eſteem the honour you have " done them; though I am not very impatient to " have the ſame, and had rather continue to be

* Hewet.

† They were certainly in every reſpect inferior; and turn a ſevere and awful ſubject into a ridiculous joke.

know you will be ſo gentle to the modern Goths and Vandals, as to allow them to put a few rhimes upon tombs, or over doors, where they have not room to write much; and may have hopes to make rhime live by the material it is graved upon. In return, I promiſe your Lordſhip, as ſoon as Homer is tranſlated, to allow it unfit for long works; but to ſay ſo at preſent would be what your ſecond thoughts could never approve of; becauſe it would be a profuſion of repentance and conviction, and yet a perſeverance in the ſin.

I have lived where I have done nothing but ſinned, that is, rhimed, theſe ſix weeks*. I dare not approach you till the fit is over. I thank God, I find the ſymptoms almoſt gone, and

" your ſtupid, *living*, humble ſervant, than be " *celebrated* by all the pens in Europe.

" I would write to Mr. Congreve; but ſuppoſe " you will read this to him, if he enquires after " me."

* In one of the three rooms of the tower at Stanton-Harcourt Mr. Pope finiſhed, in the year 1718, the fifth volume of his Homer, in his two ſummers' retirement here, as appears by the following inſcription, written with a diamond, on a

piece

and may therefore ſoon expect to paſs my time much more agreeably in London or at Bromley. I beg you to think me, what I am moſt proud and pleaſed to be thought, my Lord, your moſt obliged, and moſt faithful humble ſervant, A. POPE.

LETTER XXVI.

Bp. ATTERBURY to Mr. POPE.

SIR, Bromley, Sept. 12, 1718.

I Received here this morning a Letter from you, without any account of the place from whence it was written. I ſuppoſe you thought this a notable contrivance to eſcape an anſwer. I have ill-nature enough to take a pleaſure in defeating that deſign, and will therefore gueſs, as well as I can, where you are, and venture a letter at random: but I

piece of red ſtained glaſs, now in the poſſeſſion of Lord Nuneham:

" In the year 1718
" ALEXANDER POPE
" Finiſhed here the
" Fifth Volume of Homer."

His friend Gay ſpent his time at Cockthorp, another ſeat of Lord Harcourt's, two miles diſtant.

hope, through my Lord Harcourt's cover, it may poſſibly reach you. If it does, I have my revenge, a principle which, on this particular occaſion, I am not aſhamed to own.

In good earneſt, Sir, I was pleaſed to ſee a letter from you; and pleaſed with the ſubject of that letter. Chriſtianity is the beſt-natured inſtitution in the world, and is ſo far from allowing ſuch harſh cenſures, that it has directly forbidden them, and expreſsly decided againſt them. You know the paſſage: "Suppoſe ye that theſe Galilæans "were ſinners above all Galilæans, becauſe "they ſuffered ſuch things? I tell you nay; "but except ye repent, ye ſhall all likewiſe "periſh." What think you of letting the miniſter of the pariſh contribute this, as his ſhare, towards an inſcription on the grave-ſtone, and as a proper rebuke to his cenſuring neighbours, worthy of being inſcribed, not on ſuch a monument only, but on the heart of every one that owns himſelf a Chriſtian? How far this proſe, and your poetry, a verſe of ſcripture, and the ſtanzas you ſent me, are fit to keep company with each other, I pretend not to ſay; but ſure I am, that the words are weighty.

You

You are too good to me to think that my reliſh of ſuch performances is enough to make me capable of adviſing you; or if I were, yet my partiality in behalf of whatever you write, would ſteal away my judgement. However, ſince you are ſo civil, and ſeem ſo ſincere, I will try for once to diveſt myſelf of ſuch prejudices, and will venture to tell you my mind of what you know ſo much better than I do. If I ſhew my unſkilfulneſs, I ſhall yet give you a proof of my friendſhip, and an inſtance of the power you have over me. Perhaps there is nobody but you that could ſo eaſily have led me into ſo great a miſtake. Uſe your influence gently, if you intend to preſerve it.

I like the lines well: they are yours, and they are good; and on both theſe accounts are very welcome to me. You know my opinion, that poetry, without a moral, is a body without a ſoul. Let the lines be never ſo finely turned, if they do not point to ſome uſeful truth, if there is not inſtruction at the bottom of them, they can give no true delight to a reaſonable mind. They are,

"Verſus inopes rerum, nugæque canoræ;"

and

and as ſuch they may tinkle prettily in the ears, but will never reach the heart, or leave a durable impreſſion behind them.

Nobody that reads what you have written will blame you in this reſpect; for it is all over morality from the beginning to the end of it; and it pleaſes me the better, becauſe I fancy it drawn from the ſources of Horace; for I cannot help thinking that his

"Si fractus illabatur orbis,
"Impavidum ferient ruinæ,"

was (whether you attended to it, or no) the original from which your two laſt verſes were copied. I wiſh you had prepared the way for the latter of them, as he has done for the idea given us by *fractus illabatur orbis*, which is ſtrong enough to ſupport that which follows, *Impavidum ferient ruinæ*; whereas you melt the ball at once, without giving us any warning; and are led on the ſudden from a particular account to the general conflagration; and that too is to be effected by a *flaſh*, a word not equal to the work on which it is employed.

Pardon this freedom. But my old maſter, Roſcommon, has an expreſſion which I always

ways looked upon as very happy and ſignificant:

"He who *proportion'd* numbers can diſcloſe;"

and without that juſt proportion nothing is truly admirable.

Will you forgive me, if I add, that *melting the ball*, without that preparation I mentioned, is too apt to lead us into the image of a ſnow-ball. Waller, I am perſuaded, for the ſake of the *F* and the *B* (of which he was remarkably fond) would have choſen to ſay,

"And face the flaſh that *burns* the ball."

I am far from propoſing this as an improvement. I do not think it ſuch; or, if it were, I would not offer it, for where the images themſelves are not well ſuited, it is in vain to alter a particular expreſſion.

I know not whither I am going in this track of criticiſm, to which I have been long a ſtranger; but ſince I am in for it, *Pergite, Pierides.*

In the firſt ſtanza I muſt take the liberty to object againſt *ſo faithful* and *ſo pure*; becauſe they are ſo near to one another, and yet belong to different ſentences. Nor can I approve that confuſion of ideas which ſeems to be in the two laſt lines. Elijah indeed

was

was ſnatched up in a chariot of fire; but *pure victims* conſumed by fire from heaven cannot be ſaid to be ſnatched up in it. Has the word *celeſtial*, in the 4th line, any force? If heaven ſnatches them up in fire, that fire muſt needs be celeſtial, *i. e.* heavenly.

Your ſecond ſtanza is full of good ſenſe, ſhortly expreſſed. But methinks there is ſome obſcurity in it; *quo vitio minime tenerè ſoles*, as Suetonius ſays of Horace. For when God calls the virtuous to the grave, though he be alike juſt whether he calls him ſoon or late, yet it ſhould not be ſaid he is alike merciful whether he kills or ſaves him; for if he ſaves him, the very ſuppoſition of his being called to the grave is deſtroyed. Nor am I perfectly ſatisfied with that phraſe,

"When God calls virtue to the grave."

Though if the connection of it with the 4th line were exact in point of ſenſe, the expreſſion itſelf would not ſhock me.

Virtue unmov'd—ſhould you not rather ſay *Goodneſs*, than repeat the word *Virtue*, which you had uſed three lines before? So you had *call* alſo; but that repetition is graceful, the verb being changed into a ſubſtantive,

and

and becoming by that means a new word, which echoes to the former, and yet differs from it.

"aliusque et idem
"Nascēris,"

says he, who says every thing better than any body else but Virgil.

"Hæc ego dictabam, sylvas saltusque peragrans
"Bromleios, urbes urbanaque gaudia vitans,
"Excepto quod non simul esses, cætera lætus.
"Hæ latebræ dulces, etiam, si credis, amœnæ,
"Incolumem tibi me præstent Septembribus
"horis."

You see, Sir, I have obeyed your commands, because they are yours; with a frankness which I should like in another, and therefore hope you will not dislike in me. I have ventured to object to what I could not have written, and cannot mend. I was pleased with the thoughts of writing to you, though upon a subject that did not altogether please me; for experience has taught me, that it is a wiser and better pleasure to taste the beauties of good writers, than to find out their faults; especially since it is great odds that, when we are playing the critick, we

commit

commit more real miſtakes than we pretend to find; that, I doubt not, is my caſe: however, *jacta eſt alea.*

I ſay nothing to you about *rhime*, becauſe it is a ſubject on which I have ſo much to ſay. Why ſhould you forego an advantage which you enjoy in perfection, and own, that way of writing not to be the beſt in which you write better than any man? I am not ſo unreaſonable as to expect it. But I know I have the teſtimony of your poetical conſcience on my ſide, though you are wiſe enough not to own ſo unpopular and unprofitable a truth.

When I ſee you here, as you ſeem to promiſe, more of theſe matters. In the mean time, I am, Sir, yours, &c.

FR. ROFFEN.

LET-

LETTER XXVII.

Mr. POPE to Bp. ATTERBURY *.

MY LORD, [June, 1723.]

WHILE yet I can write to you, I muſt, I will correſpond with you, till the very moment it is felony; and when I can no longer write to you, I will write of you †.

To

* "In a collection of letters lately publiſhed by "Mr. Duncombe, it is affirmed, on the authority "of Elijah Fenton, that Atterbury, ſpeaking of "Pope, ſaid, there was *Mens curva in corpore curvo.* "This ſentiment ſeems utterly inconſiſtent with "the warm friendſhip ſuppoſed to ſubſiſt between "theſe two celebrated men. But Dr. Herring, in "vol. II. p. 104, ſays, 'If Atterbury was not "worſe uſed than any honeſt man in the world "ever was, there were ſtrong contradictions between "his public and private character." WARTON.

† I had prepared a note to be inſerted in this place, agreeably to the hint given in vol. I. p. 143; of which my reader will have no cauſe to regret the loſs, when it is ſo much better ſupplied by the following letter from a valuable friend, which he has kindly permitted me to print.

"DEAR SIR, South Molton, Nov. 12, 1782.

"THE following Anecdote was firſt communicated to the public by the late Dr. Maty, on the credit of Lord Cheſterfield: "I went (ſaid Lord Cheſterfield) to Mr. Pope, one morning, at Twickenham, and found a large folio Bible, with gilt claſps, lying before him upon his table; and, as I knew his way of thinking upon that book, I aſked him, jocoſely, if he was going to write an anſwer

To tell you that my heart is full of your defence, is no more than the worſt enemy I have

to it? It is a preſent, ſaid he, or rather a legacy, from my old friend the Biſhop of Rocheſter. I went to take my leave of him yeſterday in the Tower, where I ſaw this Bible upon his table. After the firſt compliments, the Biſhop ſaid to me, 'My friend Pope, conſidering your infirmities, and my age and exile, it is not likely that we ſhould ever meet again; and therefore I give you this legacy to remember me by it. Take it home with you; and let me adviſe you to abide by it.' —'Does your Lordſhip abide by it yourſelf?'— 'I do.'—'If you do, my Lord, it is but lately. May I beg to know what new light or arguments have prevailed with you now, to entertain an opinion ſo contrary to that which you entertained of that book all the former part of your life?'— The Biſhop replied, 'We have not time to talk of theſe things; but take home the book; I will abide by it, and I recommend you to do ſo too, and ſo GOD bleſs you!' "Dr. Warton hath revived this ſtory, which he juſtly calls an *uncommon* one, in his laſt "Eſſay on the Genius and Writings of Pope." It was indeed *very* uncommon; and I have my reaſons for thinking it equally groundleſs and invidious. Dr. Warton, though he retails the ſtory from "Maty's Memoirs," yet candidly acknowledges, that it ought not to be implicitly relied on. That this caution was not unneceſſary, will, I apprehend, be ſufficiently obvious, from the following compariſon between the date of the ſtory itſelf and Mr. Pope's Letters to the Biſhop.

"According to Lord Cheſterfield's account, this remarkable piece of converſation took place but a *few days before the Biſhop went into exile*: and it is inſi-

have muſt own: You have really, without a figure, had all the triumphs that ancient elo-

inſinuated that Mr. Pope, *till that* period, had not even entertained the ſlighteſt ſuſpicion of his Friend's reverence for the Bible: Nay, it is aſſerted, that the very recommendation of it from a quarter ſo unexpected ſtaggered Mr. Pope to ſuch a degree, that, in a mingled vein of raillery and ſerioufneſs, he was very eager to know the grounds and reaſons of the Biſhop's change of ſentiment.

"Unfortunately for the credit of Lord Cheſterfield and his ſtory, there is a letter on record, that was written *nine months* before this pretended dialogue took place, in which Mr. Pope ſeriouſly acknowledged the Biſhop's piety and generoſity, in intereſting himſelf ſo zealouſly and affectionately in matters which immediately related to his improvement in the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. The paſſage I refer to is a very remarkable one; and you will find it in a Letter, dated July 27, 1722 *. It appears undeniably from this Letter, that the Biſhop had earneſtly recommended to Mr. Pope the ſtudy of the Bible; and had ſoftened his zeal with an unuſual urbanity and courteſy, in order to avoid the imputation of ill-breeding, and remove all occaſion of diſguſt from a mind ſo "*tremblingly alive*" as Mr. Pope's. I will tranſcribe the paſſage at large. "I ought firſt to prepare "my mind for a better knowledge *even* of good "*profane* writers, eſpecially the *moraliſts*, &c. be"fore I can be worthy of taſting *that* SUPREME *of* "*Books*, and SUBLIME *of all writings*, in WHICH, "as in all the intermediate ones, YOU may (if your "Friendſhip and Charity towards me continue ſo "far) *be the beſt* GUIDE to, Yours, A. POPE."

* Printed in the Firſt Volume of this Collection, p. 113.

eloquence boaſts of. Their conſciences and paſſions have done you right, though their votes have not. You have met with the fate frequent to great and good men, to gain applauſe, where you are denied juſtice *. Let me take the only occaſion I have had

" The laſt letter of Mr. Pope to the Biſhop, previous to his going into exile, was written (as you obſerve) very early in June, 1723. It muſt have been about this time that Pope paid his farewel viſit to the Biſhop in the Tower. But whether *ſuch* a converſation as that which hath been pretended actually took place, may be left to the determination of every man of common ſenſe, after comparing Lord Cheſterfield's anecdote with Mr. Pope's letter.

" There muſt have been a miſtake, or a wilful miſrepreſentation, *ſomewhere*. To determine its *origin*, or to mark minutely the various degrees of its progreſs, till it iſſued forth into calumny and falſhood, is impoſſible. I have ſimply ſtated matters of fact as they are recorded; and leave it to your readers to ſettle other points, not quite ſo obvious and indiſputable, as they may think fit. My motives in this very plain relation aroſe from an honeſt wiſh to remove *unmerited* obloquy from the DEAD. I ſhould ſincerely rejoice if the cloud which in other reſpects *ſtill* ſhades the character of this ingenious Prelate could be removed with equal facility and ſucceſs. I am, dear Sir, your faithful, humble ſervant, SAMUEL BADCOCK. " *To Mr. J. Nichols.*"

* Bp. Newton was " captain of Weſtminſter-" ſchool, when their chief governor, the Dean " in

had in the whole ſeries of your misfortunes to congratulate you, and not you only, but poſterity,

" in Auguſt 1722, not many days after perform-
" ing the laſt office at the magnificent funeral of
" the great Duke of Marlborough, was taken into
" cuſtody, and carried before a committee of the
" privy council; where being under examination,
" he made uſe of theſe words of our Saviour, 'If
" I tell you, ye will not believe; and if I alſo
" aſk you, ye will not anſwer me, nor let me go;'
" and he was committed a priſoner to the Tower
" for treaſonable practices. There is too much
" reaſon to fear that the Biſhop had been dabbling
" in this kind of politics; but a full and clear
" detection of the conſpiracy was never obtained.
" The miniſtry had got ſome ſcent of his intrigues,
" but could not follow him through all his turn-
" ings and windings, nor, with all their ſagacity,
" could trace him directly to his cover. They
" had little better evidence than hear-ſays, con-
" jectures, and innuendoes; and could procure no
" ſufficient legal proof to convict him by trial at
" law. Recourſe was had therefore to a bill of
" pains and penalties, to deprive him of all his
" preferments, and to baniſh him the kingdom;
" which, after long debate, was carried by a con-
" ſiderable majority in both houſes. In this de-
" bate the Duke of Wharton exerted himſelf
" greatly, ſummed up the evidence in a maſterly
" manner, and made one of the beſt and ableſt
" ſpeeches againſt the bill ever delivered, which he
" cauſed to be printed, and entered a larger and
" more particular proteſt, diſſentient for the ſame
" reaſons as other Lords, and for other reaſons

terity, upon this noble defence. I already ſee in what luſtre *that* innocence is to appear to

" additional. Hereby he verified in ſome mea-
" ſure what his father, the old Marquis, had, in
" his anger, predicted of him, that he would al-
" ways take wrong cauſes, would learn his poli-
" tics of Atterbury, and be ruined. His brethren
" the Biſhops were almoſt all unanimous againſt
" him. The only one who ſpoke in his behalf,
" and proteſted, was Gaſtrell Biſhop of Cheſter,
" who yet had been at variance with him. Willis
" Biſhop of Saliſbury made a long and laboured
" ſpeech on the other ſide, which he publiſhed
" ſoon after, and was rewarded by the biſhoprick
" of Wincheſter, as Biſhop Hoadly was by ſuc-
" ceeding to Salisbury. Lord Bathurſt, wonder-
" ing at this unanimity, ſaid, that he could not
" poſſibly account for it, unleſs ſome perſons
" were poſſeſſed with the nature of the wild In-
" dians, that when they had killed a man, they
" were not only entitled to his ſpoils, but inherited
" likewiſe his abilities. Biſhop Hoadly was no
" ſpeaker in that houſe, but he took another
" courſe. He had all along purſued Atterbury
" with unrelenting animoſity, had firſt attacked
" his ſermon at the funeral of Mr. Bennet, then
" his ſermon upon charity, afterwards ſet forth
" an anſwer in Engliſh to his Latin ſermon before
" the Clergy, and ſtill continued the purſuit, and
" ſtuck in his ſkirts to the laſt, by writing in a
" Weekly Journal a refutation of his ſpeech, and
" a vindication of the judgement paſſed upon him,
" ſo that a gentleman of wit and learning, allud-
" ing to Biſhop Hoadly's lameneſs, applied that
" ſaying in Horace,

" *Raro*

to other ages, which this has overborne and oppreſſed. I know perfectly well what a ſhare

" *Raro antecedentem ſcelcſtum*
" *Deſeruit pede pœna claudo.*

" Some have ſuſpected that there was more truth " than there ſhould have been in that confeſſion " of the villain Neynoe, that he knew nothing " of the plot; but he knew of two other plots, " one of his own to get money from Mr. Walpole, " and the other of Mr. Walpole againſt the pro- " teſting Lords, and particularly againſt the Biſhop " of Rocheſter, the chief of them, to pull down " the pride of that haughty Prelate. But though " it did not appear that the Biſhop had any con- " cern and connexion with Layer and Layer's plot, " yet there was a greater intimacy between him " and Kelly than either of them would acknow- " lege; for the young gentleman, who lived at " that time in the biſhop's houſe as his ſon's tutor " and companion, has often ſaid that Kelly uſed " to come to him frequently, commonly once in " a week, on a Thurſday evening, and to ſtay ſhut " up with him alone from ſeven o'clock till nine. " The Earl of Sunderland too, who was ſtrongly " ſuſpected to have been of the ſame way of " thinking, but died before the diſcovery, though " he had no manner of acquaintance with the " Biſhop, or rather was at enmity with him in " former times, yet in his latter days made him " long and frequent viſits, as even the King's " ſcholars obſerved, who walking and playing " much in Dean's yard, had yet curioſity enough " to remark who and what paſſed. Some of his " negotiations alſo with the Pretender's agents,

ſhare of credit it will be to have appeared on your ſide, or being called your *friend*. I am far prouder of that word you publicly ſpake of me, than of any thing I have even yet heard of myſelf during my whole life. Thanks be to GOD, that I, a private man, concerned in no judicature, and employed in no public cauſe, have had the honour, in this great and ſhining incident, which will make the firſt figure in the hiſtory of this time, to enter, as it were, my proteſt for your innocency, and my declaration of your friendſhip *. Be aſ-

ſured,

" after his going abroad, have been publiſhed in " the year 1768, with a fac-ſimile, or exemplifi- " cation of his hand-writing; which whoever " knew, he cannot well entertain any doubt of " their authenticity." Bp. NEWTON.—Theſe letters are preſerved in vol. I. with another fac-ſimile of his hand-writing, which amply confirms the former.

* " At his trial he had produced Mr. Pope as an " evidence in his favour, to ſpeak to his manner " of life and converſation: and when he took his " laſt leave of him, he told him, he would allow " him to ſay his ſentence was juſt, if he ever " found he had any concern with the Pretender's " family in his exile. But notwithſtanding this, " as Biſhop Warburton informs us, Mr. Pope " was convinced, before the Biſhop's death, that " during his baniſhment he was in the intrigues " of the Pretender. It was moſt excellent advice

" which

ſured, my dear Lord, no time ſhall ever efface that from my heart, ſhould I be denied the

" which Mr. Pope gave him in ſome of his part-
" ing letters, that he ſhould not envy the world
" his ſtudies; that, it might be, Providence had
" appointed him to ſome great and uſeful work,
" and called him to it this ſevere way; that now
" he was cut off from a little ſociety, and made a
" citizen of the world at large, he ſhould bend
" his talents not to ſerve a party, or a few, but all
" mankind; that he ſhould think of Tully, Bacon,
" and Clarendon; that he ſhould remember the
" greateſt lights of antiquity dazzled and blazed
" moſt in their retreat, in their exile, or in their
" death; that he ſhould deſpiſe all little views,
" all mean retroſpects, and ſhould (as he could)
" make the world look after him, not with pity,
" but with eſteem and admiration. And it is
" much to be lamented, that this advice was no
" better followed, that ſuch talents and faculties
" were no better employed, and that he was ſtill
" dealing in politics, inſtead of writing ſome
" work of genius and learning, of which he was
" very capable. He wrote only two or three little
" pieces, his Eſſay on the character of Iäpis in
" Virgil; his Vindication of Dr. Aldrich, Dr.
" Smalridge, and himſelf, from the charge of in-
" terpolating Lord Clarendon's Hiſtory; and little
" or nothing beſides, but a few criticiſms on ſome
" French authors. For though he would never
" venture to talk or converſe in French, yet as
" Monſ. Rollin and Thiriot, to whom Voltaire
" addreſſed his Letters on the Engliſh nation, have
" aſſured us, he was as able a critic in the lan-

the power of expreſſing it ever more with my pen in this manner; but could that permiſſion be obtained, which you had once the extreme goodneſs to think of aſking even from thoſe from whom you would aſk nothing, I believe, but what lies very near your heart; and could the permiſſion of correſponding with you be obtained; I do aſſure you, I would tear off all other writings, and apply it wholly to you (where it would pleaſe me beſt) and to the amuſement and (if I could be ſo happy as to ſay) comfort of your exile, till GOD and your innocency

" guage as any Frenchman. After the Weſtmin-
" ſter election * in 1723 was over, ſome of the
" King's Scholars thought it a proper piece of
" reſpect to wait on their late Dean in the Tower,
" as every body had then free admittance, to ſee
" and take leave of him: and, among other
" things which he ſaid to them, he applied to
" himſelf thoſe lines of Milton, as he did like-
" wiſe in a letter to Mr. Pope:

" The world is all before me, where to chooſe
" My place of reſt, and Providence my guide."

Bp. NEWTON.

* " There was ſomething auguſt and awful too in the Weſt-
" minſter-elections; to ſee three ſuch great men preſiding, Biſhop
" Atterbury as Dean of Weſtminſter, Biſhop Smalridge as Dean of
" Chriſt Church, and Dr. Bentley as Maſter of Trinity-college:
" and 'as iron ſharpens iron,' ſo theſe three, by their wit and
" learning, and liberal converſation, whetted and ſharpened one
" another." Bp. NEWTON.

(which will ſupport you in it) reſtore you from it; than which there is not a ſincerer or warmer prayer, my Lord, than in the breaſt of your ever obliged and affectionate friend, A. POPE.

Some Alterations of Buchanan's famous EPIGRAM, propoſed by Dr. ATTERBURY, and ſent by that Prelate in a Letter written the very day before he died, to the late Lord Marſhal *.

NYmpha, Caledoniæ quæ nunc feliciter oræ
Miſſa per innumeros ſceptra tueris avos:
Quæ famam antevenis, meritis; virtutibus, annos;
Sexum, animis; morum nobilitate, genus:
Accipe

* "Among the ſeveral diſputes between the "Scotch and Engliſh, of the excellence of each "reſpective nation, I wonder the celebrated Epi-"gram of Buchanan, in which he dedicates his "Pſalms to Mary Queen of Scots, has not been "produced; for I hardly ever met with a Scotch "man who was not ready to extol it, and yet have "rarely met with one that underſtood it. I may "preſume, then, to ſay it is deficient in point of "clearneſs; and it has been proved not leſs ſo in "point of elegance. The queſtion is, what is the "ſenſe of the laſt couplet but one. The editor of "this, among the Delectus Epigrammatum for "the uſe of Eton-ſchool, interprets *exponere*, "*Non cuſus eſſem in publicum edere fœtum non fa-*
"*ventibus*

Accipe (ſed facilis) * cultú donata Latino
Carmina, fatidici nobile regis opus.
Illa quidem, Cyrrhâ procul et Permeſſide lymphâ,
Pene ſub Arctoï ſidere nata poli.
Non tamen auſus eram male natum exponere fœtum,
Ne mihi diſpliceant, quæ placuere tibi:
Sed quod ab authoris genio ſperare nequibant;
Debebunt genio forſitan illa tuo.

" *ventibus Muſis.* But the ſenſe is undoubtedly the " very contrary. It is certain he *publiſhed* the " book when he wrote that Dedication to it. " *Exponere* is the ſame as *non tollere*, and alludes " to the cuſtom among the ancients of *expoſing* thoſe " children to chance and fate whom they did not " deſign to *bring up*. I would not, ſays the poet, " expoſe to deſtruction thoſe poems which you " were pleaſed to approve of. So much for the " ſenſe of the epigram: and when we have got it, " I own, it is not worth ſearching for, except that " it has given an opportunity to the ingenious pen " of Bp. Atterbury, to throw new light and beauty " over the whole, and to make the poverty of the " northern ſoil (which the poet and the reader too " ſenſibly feel) ſubſervient to the moſt delicate " compliment to the beauty of his royal patroneſs. " Inſtead, therefore, of the four laſt lines, ſubſti- " tute thoſe of the Biſhop:

" At ſi culta parum, ſi ſint incondita, noſtri
" Scilicet ingenii eſt, non ea culpa ſoli:
" Poſſe etiam hic naſci quæ ſunt pulcherrima, " ſpondet
" E vultu et genio Scotica terra tuo."

Theſe remarks are by the late Mr. BOWYER.

* Read, " cytharæ ſociata Latinæ." ATTERBURY.

RE-

Reflections on a late ſcandalous Report about the Repeal of the Test Act *.

THE peculiar character of the men of this age is, that they readily believe every thing but truth; and, as great Infidels as they are in matters of Religion, yet in politics, whatever idle report is ſtirring, they give into it with an amazing degree of credulity. How elſe could it happen that ſo many ſhould in good earneſt be alarmed with the late rumor we have had of a deſign to *repeal the Teſt*; a fiction every way ridiculous and childiſh, fit only to frighten ſuch as believe in *Fairies!* There are thoſe indeed who know how to make their advantages of a ſtate-lye, if they can paſs it upon the world for an hour: but it was impudence in the forger of this to imagine that it could laſt a moment. For, ſet this odd project in what light, and view it on what ſide you pleaſe, the abſurdities of it are ſo evident and glaring, that one would think the weakeſt eye could not miſs diſcovering them.

Every one knows the original of the Teſt Act; how juſt the fears were that occaſioned

* I believe this has never been publiſhed. It is now printed from the Biſhop's own hand-writing.

it,

it, and how well it was calculated every way to remove them. The dangers which then threatened our conſtitution were of two ſorts: and the wiſdom of the legiſlature took care equally to guard againſt both of them. That part of this act, which makes the renouncing the Corporal Preſence in the Euchariſt a neceſſary qualification for an office, would have excluded the Papiſts as effectually as any additional teſt whatſoever: and therefore the other part of it, which enjoins receiving the ſacrament, muſt have been aimed chiefly at the Diſſenters. And if, in that reſpect, it were then thought neceſſary, with what face can any one pretend that it is unneceſſary now? We did not look upon ourſelves as ſecure, without a ſacramental teſt, even at a time when a toleration was not as yet granted by law; and he muſt have an extraordinary turn of head, who, at this time of day, can imagine that there is leſs reaſon for continuing, than there was at firſt for impoſing, it. Since the birth of the Teſt, have we, by any new fences, been ſheltered againſt the attacks of Diſſenters? or are they grown leſs formidable by the favours of more than one reign, and twenty years legal indulgence?

Have

Have they loſt their old reliſh of power, by the late allowances they have had to taſte of it? Or have they given us any reaſon to think, they would uſe it better than their moderate predeceſſors did in the times of anarchy and confuſion; when they were not content to exclude church-of-England-men from civil offices, but made it penal for them even to teach a child, or ſay grace in a private family? We have an inſtructive inſtance, in a neighbouring nation, how the ſpirit of fanaticiſm works when dominant; and they who will not be convinced by it, neither would they be perſuaded, though Bradſhaw and Ireton, Venners and Marſhal, ſhould riſe from the dead, and once again exerciſe their dominion over us.

The Church of England hath ever juſtly been eſteemed the great bulwark of the Reformation; and, I am ſure, the Teſt Act may as juſtly be reckoned the chief bulwark of the Church; for, by the means of it, that power which alone can protect or deſtroy her has been kept in the hands of her friends, or of thoſe at leaſt who deſired to be thought ſuch, and could not therefore openly do any thing diſagreeable to that character. But,

whenever,

whenever thoſe who are not of her communion are let into a ſhare of this power, it is as eaſy to foretell, as it will be impoſſible to prevent, the ſad conſequences of it. We muſt be allowed at that juncture to ſay (what every one will ſee) that ſhe is *in extreme danger*; and that no ſtate-phyſician, be his ſkill ever ſo great, or his intentions ever ſo good, will then be able to ſave her. She has perhaps the leaſt influence of any Church upon earth, by virtue of that diſcipline and authority which ſhe is permitted to exerciſe; and no method hath been left unattempted to make her looſe the hold ſhe had in the affections and reverence of the people. That which ſupports her under theſe diſadvantages is, the *incapacity* that lies on her enemies as to *places and power*. Let this incapacity be ever removed, ſhe is from that moment at mercy, and can ſubſiſt only (as the Primitive Church was planted) by miracle.

It being evident, that theſe are the conſequences of repealing the Teſt Act, and as evident that it can be repealed only by thoſe who profeſs themſelves of the Church of England, one would wonder, how it was poſſible to raiſe a jealouſy, that, in our preſent

ſent circumſtances, it would ever be attempted. For who is there likely to make or abet ſuch a propoſal in public? The Scotch members are pointed at as the men who are to introduce it under the notion of *improving the Union*. As if the proper way of improving the Union were, to take the firſt opportunity of breaking in upon the terms of it! one of which is, that (not only the "Statute of "Uniformity," and the 13th of Eliz. which are expreſsly mentioned, but) "all and ſin-"gular acts of parliament, now in force for "the eſtabliſhment and preſervation of the "Church of England, ſhall remain, and be "in full force for ever." And if the Teſt and Corporation Acts (which muſt ſtand and fall together) be not in the number of theſe, I deſpair of finding any ſuch in the ſtatute-book. Sure we are, the great influence of theſe acts was ſo well underſtood in a late reign, that her enemies, how widely ſoever differing in other opinions, yet agreed in this, that a repeal of them would be the ſureſt and readieſt way towards her ruin. The church itſelf thought ſo too; and therefore ſtruggled for them as for life, and even ventured a Revolution to ſecure them.

The

The Scotch members are ſenſible that ſeveral Laws *anent the ſecurity of their Kirk* are perpetuated by like general words in the Act of Union; and will be wary therefore, how they weaken our ſecurity which ſtands upon the ſame bottom with theirs, leſt the precedent, ſet here, ſhould be followed elſewhere, and a way opened by the means of it to ſubvert their preſent eccleſiaſtical conſtitution. Beſides, ſuch a propoſal for ſetting Diſſenters upon an equal foot of privilege with the members of the eſtabliſhed Church, would come with a very ill grace from them, that deny even to *tolerate* thoſe of the epiſcopal perſuaſion amongſt them. An authentic evidence of their principles in this point is, the Repreſentation, which the Commiſſion of their General Aſſembly made to the Scotch Parliament, a little before the Union, wherein they "are bold in the LORD," and in the "name of the Church of GOD in their land, "earneſtly to atteſt his Grace [the High "Commiſſioner] and the moſt honourable "eſtates, that no motion of any legal tole-"ration to thoſe of prelatical principles may "be entertained by the parliament, being "perſuaded that in the preſent caſe and "cir-

"circumſtances of that church and nation, "to enact a toleration for thoſe of that way "(which GOD of his infinite mercy avert!) "would be to eſtabliſh iniquity by a law, "and would bring upon the promoters there- "of, and upon their families, the dreadful "guilt of all thoſe ſins, and pernicious ef- "fects, both in Church and State, that "might enſue thereupon." Thus they then proteſted; and, to do them right, however they may have been miſrepreſented, their practice ever ſince hath been exactly conformable to their opinion.

Well then, no proper advocate for this Repeal is to be found among the Scotch members of parliament, and much leſs ſurely among the Engliſh, who are all ſons of that Church which would be ſtruck at by ſuch an attempt, and can no more be out-witted, than out-voted, in a caſe where their intereſt is ſo evidently concerned. Many of them are of tried virtue, and did, with a memorable firmneſs, oppoſe this deſign, even when the Crown, with all its weight, came in to promote it. And there are none of them but will acknowledge that our preſent ſafety and happineſs are owing to the honourable

ſtand which was then made. We need not doubt, therefore, but that, if occaſion were given them, they would be as ready to imitate that conduct as they are to applaud it.

The Houſe of Commons have already expreſſed their opinion, that the Teſt Act is a fundamental part of the Union, by declaring upon their Journal, that "it is effectually and "eſſentially provided for" by the Act of Security; and the Lords were of the ſame mind, when they gave the ſame reaſon in their debates, why an expreſs mention of it was needleſs.

It is impoſſible to conceive that the Biſhops ſhould not unanimouſly withſtand ſuch a project; and we may be ſure, they have intereſt enough to prevent the bringing in any bill, which touches the Church ſo nearly, againſt their concurring opinion. Indeed, if Parker and Cartwright* were alive, they would be fit tools to work with on this occaſion: but I know of no one Engliſh prelate now upon the bench that can come within the reach of ſuch a ſuſpicion. My Lord of Sarum†

* Parker biſhop of Oxford and Cartwright biſhop of Cheſter, both preferred in 1686 by King James II. See their characters in Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, vol. II. p. 398. 8vo. edit.

† Biſhop Burnet.

has diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his zeal for preſerving the Teſt Act, and given ſuch ſtrong reaſons for it from The Hague as can never be anſwered here in England; and we may be ſatisfied, from his character, that his Lordſhip will always be found conſiſtent with himſelf, and perſevere to the death in that opinion. Beſides, ſuch an infringement of the Union here would, as I have ſhewed, be attended with ſome danger to the conſtitution and diſcipline of the Scotch Kirk, for which his Lordſhip muſt be allowed, on the account both of his birth and comprehenſive charity, to have a particular tenderneſs.

From what party, or ſet of men amongſt us, can ſuch a propoſal as this probably come? The body of thoſe we call *Whigs* have imbibed Revolution principles ſo deeply, and remember them ſo well, as not to be willingly dipped in a deſign of doing that very thing which the Revolution was intended to prevent. They cannot forget that one chief motive of the Prince's coming over, expreſſed in his declaration from The Hague, was, to quaſh that "wicked deſign" (I ſpeak his Highneſs's words) "of repealing the "Teſt." The attempt will not be thought leſs wicked, or more ſeaſonable now, if we

conſider either our domeſtic or foreign circumſtances. Nor can that party be ſo ſure of their preſent power and numbers, as to be willing to hazard all their credit and intereſt upon ſo dangerous an experiment.

The Pretender's friends (who are alſo for Revolution principles in their way) cannot hope to advance his intereſt by laying ſo open and barefaced a ſcheme for the introduction of Popery; which, if ever it takes place here, muſt come in upon us by ſtealth, and not by act of parliament. Nor will the continuance of that part of the act which affects the Papiſts remove this objection: for the taking away one branch of our ſecurity evidently weakens the whole; and the repealing acts by peicemeal is a trick ſo often tried that every body is aware of it. Beſides, this ſort of men is too inconſiderable for numbers and intereſt, to enter on ſuch a project, unleſs joined by others of greater power and popularity. And, were it poſſible to conceive that there ſhould be any underſtanding between the Pretender and ſome of his pretended enemies, yet, we may be ſure, they would be very ſhy of owning it, or of doing any thing that might open the ſecret of ſuch a correſpondence.

The

The favourers of Diſſenters never eſpouſed them on any other foot than that of an allowance to worſhip GOD in their own way; which they now amply enjoy, and are under no apprehenſions of loſing. To plead for any thing farther in their behalf would be to take off the maſk, and to diſcover to us, that though *Liberty of Conſcience* was their pretence, yet their true meaning was, *Power and Places.*

They who ſtood up for Occaſional Conformity argued for it upon this principle, that it would, by degrees, win men over to the Church, and extinguiſh the ſchiſm. And, to ſay truth, it has had ſome ſucceſs that way; and will have more, if we let it continue. But if the Teſt be taken off, there is an end of Occaſional Conformity, and of all its boaſted advantages. Separatiſts will no longer make approaches to the Church, when, by ſerving GOD in their own way, they do not find that they are a jot leſs capable of ſerving themſelvas. And therefore, ſince Occaſional Conformity has ſo neceſſary a connexion with the Teſt, they who are profeſſed friends to the one, cannot poſſibly be enemies to the other.

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Dutch counſels have ſometimes had their influence on our affairs, and we have been warmly preſſed to adjuſt things here at home to the model of Holland. But there is no room for ſuch advice at preſent: for *our* caſe is already much the ſame with *theirs*. They too have their Teſts, by which the government of the ſtate is ſecured in the hands of thoſe who are of the eſtabliſhed religion; nor do they think that the tolerated ſects have a right to be admitted into ſo much power as will enable them to ſubvert the conſtitution. When the Dutch give up their Teſts, I dare engage, we ſhall be ready to part with ours: but, till this is done, no argument drawn from the practice of that wiſe people can prove any thing, but that we are fools if we ſurrender.

There is but one ſort of men more that can be thought capable of intereſting themſelves in this affair; perſons of ſincere piety, who are offended at the frequent prophanations of the ſacrament, occaſioned by this act. But ſuch will conſider, that the diſcipline of the univerſal Church lies open to the very ſame objection; ſince ſet-times, every year, are, we know, preſcribed by the Canons,

Canons, when all adult Chriſtians are to receive the ſacrament, under the penalty of eccleſiaſtical cenſures. And though many, by this means, have been induced to receive unworthily, yet the Church never thought itſelf anſwerable for their ill conduct, or obliged to withdraw her injunctions for the avoiding of ſcandal. Good men will ſee the force of this reaſoning, and forbear to take offence. But their number is not great; the oppoſers of the Teſt-Act have generally nothing leſs at heart than to prevent ſuch prophanations. I am ſure, the way to prevent them is not what ſome have propoſed, to make it a ſufficient qualification for an office if the ſacrament be received in any place of religious worſhip: for this propoſal would only extend thoſe prophanations to conventicles as well as churches, and by that means rather propagate than diminiſh the ſcandal.

The reſult of theſe inquiries is, that, ſince wherever we caſt our eyes, within the Church or without it, at home or abroad, no undertaker can be found likely to engage in ſuch a work, there is no ground to

ſuſpect it was ever intended: malice might raiſe the report, and folly might ſpread it; but it is too groſs to impoſe upon any but thoſe who are weak enough to be alarmed with the news of a *ſecond invaſion* *.

* This refers to an invaſion projected about 1708.

EXTRACT from a Speech of Lord LANSDOWNE, againſt the Occaſional Conformity Bill, Dec. 19, 1718.

"IF any man can ſay as much for the Diſſenters, "let him ſpeak. The reverend Prelates, who "have exerted in this debate, having been pre- "pared to fulminate againſt the Teſt, without be- "ing admitted into the ſecret of withdrawing the "queſtion, have unfortunately employed their "quivers in the air.

"One indeed there is *, who muſt not be for- "got, who, wandering beyond the reſt in a long "hiſtorical collection from pamphlets and libels, "has let himſelf looſe againſt the ſacred memory "of the Royal Martyr. He has accuſed him, if "not of all Popery, of half Popery, very near "Popery, almoſt all Popery. Why would he not "ſpeak out? For what means this ſchool diſtinc- "tion betwixt almoſt all a Papiſt, and quite? "Hard fate of the beſt of men and of kings! He "who renounced the purple to preſerve the lawn, "who died for the Church, and who is com- "memorated as a Martyr for the Church, is yet "expoſed, within an age after his deſcent from

* Dr. Gibſon, then Biſhop of Lincoln.

" the ſcaffold to the grave, to be murthered over
" again in fame, even in the ſupreme court of
" judicature, by one in that venerable order, in
" that very epiſcopacy, for which he ſacrificed his
" liberty, his life, his crown.

" The execrable wretch who ſevered his head
" from his body, performed the inhuman office
" in a maſk; but this holy executioner, who cuts
" what the axe could not hurt, what the Regicides
" could not take from him, his good name, has
" not been aſhamed to attempt it bare-faced.
" It greives me that this animadverſion ſhould
" fall to my lot, to the lot of any private
" Lord: I was in hopes a general indignation
" would have warmed this Noble Aſſembly to
" have made it their own act to reprehend ſuch
" irreverend ſlanders, as would have much better
" become a deſcendant from Bradſhaw than a
" ſucceſſor of Laud. But I aſk pardon; this un-
" lucky reflection may have tranſported me too
" far. In a word, that I may not appear pre-
" judiced to merit in any man, I will conclude
" with this motion, That a liſt be laid before us
" of ſuch Diſſenters by name, as have in any
" kind merited from the publick, and I will
" moſt readily come into any meaſures that may
" diſtinguiſh them and their particular ſervice.

" God forbid but that they ſhould have their
" deſerts!"

Biſhop

Biſhop ATTERBURY's SPEECH IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS,

March 22, 1723.

Now firſt collated with an authentic MS. in the poſſeſſion of Dr. MORICE *.

MY LORDS,

I HAVE been under a very long and cloſe confinement, in which I have been treated by the perſon in whoſe *immediate* cuſtody I was with ſuch ſeverity, and ſo great indignity, as, I believe, no priſoner in the Tower of my age, infirmities, function, and rank, ever underwent; by which means, what little ſtrength and uſe of my limbs I had, when committed in Auguſt laſt, is now ſo far impaired, that I am very unfit to appear

* The reader needs ſcarcely compare more than a ſingle paragraph to be convinced of the mutilated ſtate in which this ſpeech has hitherto been preſented to the publick. Some whole ſentences were totally omitted, and the ſenſe of many others quite perverted.

before

before your Lordſhips on any occaſion; eſpecially when I am to make my defence againſt a bill of ſo extraordinary a nature and tendency.

I mention this, at the entrance of what I have to ſay, not ſo much in the way of *complaint*, as *excuſe*; hoping that, if I ſhould fail in any part of my own juſtification, your Lordſhips will impute ſuch defect to the true cauſe; not my want of *innocence* or *arguments* to ſupport it (my Counſel *, I thank them, have amply ſhewed, that I want neither), but to the great weakneſs of body and mind, under which I at preſent labour. Such uſage, ſuch hardſhips of every kind, ſuch inſults as I have undergone, might have broken a more reſolute ſpirit, and a much firmer conſtitution than has fallen to my ſhare.

Your Lordſhips were pleaſed to *permit* me to appear before the Commons, by my *coun-*

* The Counſel for the Biſhop were, Sir Conſtantine Phipps and Mr. (afterwards Serjeant) Wynne. The latter of theſe gentlemen, conceiving himſelf reflected on many years after for his conduct in this buſineſs, by a writer to whoſe opinions every deference is due, thought proper to vindicate himſelf in ſome "Obſervations," which ſhall be printed immediately after the Biſhop's Speech.

ſel,

ſel, or in *perſon* if I *thought fit*. Leſt *that* ſhould be turned to my diſadvantage, as in fact the Counſel * for the bill have turned it, as if I declined any occaſion of juſtifying myſelf, I crave leave to acquaint your Lordſhips with ſome of the reaſons why I did *not think fit* to make uſe of the liberty you gave me; eſpecially ſince it ſeems to me to have been given with a tacit inſinuation, that, if I ſhould *not think fit* to make uſe of it, your Lordſhips would be no ways diſpleaſed.

March 11. It was by the Houſe of Commons thus *Reſolved*,

"That it *appears* to this Houſe, That "Francis Lord Biſhop of Rocheſter was "*principally* concerned in *forming*, *di-* "*recting*, and *carrying* on, a wicked and "deteſtable conſpiracy, for invading theſe "kingdoms with a foreign force, and "for raiſing inſurrections and a rebellion "at home, in order to ſubvert our pre- "ſent happy eſtabliſhment in church "and ſtate, by placing a popiſh pre- "tender on the throne."

* Mr. Reeve and Mr. Wearg.

Upon

Upon duly weighing which *reſolution*, and the copy of the *bill* afterwards ſent me, I found not that there was any thing *charged* againſt me in that bill, but what was fully *contained*, and had been previouſly *reſolved*, in this vote. And any plea therefore on my behalf, which ſhould have been offered to that Houſe, muſt have been in vain, as carrying an expreſs contradiction to a ſolemn determination already made by them. What they ſent me was really the *preamble of the bill* only: the enacting part, relating to *pains* and *penalties*, was to follow: but not being then part of the bill, my counſel had no *room* to ſay any thing on that head. They have ſince been added in the bill, and ſent up to your Lordſhips (in like manner as the *Reſolution* of March 11. paſſed) without *hearing* the perſon accuſed, without *oath* made, or any *criminal* accuſation brought againſt him by any *living* witneſs whatſoever. And yet the perſon thus ſentenced *below* to be deprived of all his preferments, to ſuffer *perpetual* exile, to be rendered *incapable* of any *office* or *employment*, or even of any *pardon* from the *crown*, and with whom no man muſt hereafter converſe, or correſpond by *letter*,

letter, *meſſage*, or otherwiſe, without being guilty of *felony*, is a *Biſhop of this Church*, and a *Lord of Parliament*; the very *firſt* inſtance of a member of *this* houſe, ſo treated, ſo prejudged, ſo condemned, *originally* in *another*, and *may* it be the *laſt!* though ſuch precedents, once ſet, ſeldom ſtand ſingle; but are apt, even without a bleſſing, to *be fruitful and multiply* in after-times! a reflection that deſerves ſeriouſly to be conſidered by thoſe who, obſerving that this caſe has never before in all its circumſtances happened, may too eaſily conclude that it will never happen again!

The *whole bill* is *now* before your Lordſhips; not the *preamble* or *recital* only, but the *enacting part* alſo. I am at liberty not only to clear myſelf from the *charge* brought, but humbly to object alſo againſt the *puniſhment* deſigned; you have not precluded your judgement by any *previous reſolution* concerning my guilt; you are capable of examining into the *truth* of matters upon *oath*, and with all the ſolemn *forms* of a *legal judicature*: and therefore I have *hopes* that what is offered *here* in my behalf, *may* have its due weight, and

do, on that account, appear the more chearfully before you.

My *counſel* have done *their* part, in arguing the points of *law*, in explaining and enforcing the evidences on *my* ſide, and invalidating the little colours, appearances, and ſhadows of proof (permit me to *call* them what I have *prov'd* them) that have been produced on the *other*, and in ſetting out the *conſequences* with which a bill founded on ſuch a *bottom*, carried on in ſuch a *manner*, and enacting ſuch ſevere *penalties*, muſt and will be attended.

It may become *me* alſo to ſay ſomewhat for *myſelf*; leſt my *ſilence* ſhould be interpreted into a conſciouſneſs of guilt, or at leaſt an unwillingneſs to enter into matters of ſo dark and perplexed, or ſo nice and tender a nature, that I either was not able, or did not *care*, to explain myſelf upon them, and choſe therefore to leave *all* to the management of others.

I thank GOD, I am under no ſuch *reſtraints*, and can ſpeak to your Lordſhips on this ſubject with *great* freedom and plainneſs.

But, before I proceed, I beg leave to repreſent to your Lordſhips ſome particular hardſhips

hardſhips under which I have laboured. Firſt, the reading extracts of anonymous letters, without ſuffering any other parts of the ſame letters, though relating to the ſame ſubject, to be read. Next, excuſing the decypherer from anſwering queſtions, leſt he ſhould reveal the rules of his art. The not ſuffering me to aſk the clerks of the poſt-office queſtions neceſſary to my defence, leſt the ſecrets of the office ſhould be diſcovered. The not ſuffering a perſon who has been near ten years out of the ſecretary's office to anſwer any queſtions relating to the Government (however neceſſary for my defence) which came to his knowledge by reaſon of his having been in that office. The reading examinations neither dated, ſigned, nor ſworn to. The reading letters, ſuppoſed to be criminal, written in another man's hand, and ſuppoſed to be dictated by me, without offering any proof, though called upon, that I either dictated them, or was privy to them. The not allowing me copies of the decyphered letters (though petitioned for) till the trial was ſo far advanced that I had not ſufficient time to conſider them. Not allowing me to read out of the collection of papers before the Houſe

Houſe any part of them, in order to diſcharge myſelf, but what had been read to charge me.

And all this in a proceeding where the counſel for the bill profeſſed they had no *legal* evidence, nor were to be confined to the rules of any court of law or equity, though, when it was for their ſervice, they conſtantly ſheltered themſelves under them.

My Lords, theſe are the hardſhips which I previouſly mention, and humbly lay before your Lordſhips.

The *general* charge of the bill is, That *I have been deeply concerned in forming, directing, and carrying on, a wicked and deteſtable conſpiracy*, and *a principal actor therein.*

And this general charge is divided into two heads.

1. That *I traiterouſly conſulted and correſponded with divers perſons to raiſe an inſurrection againſt his Majeſty within this kingdom, and to procure a foreign force to invade the ſame, in order to depoſe his Majeſty, and place the Pretender on his throne.* And,

2. *That I traiterouſly correſponded with the ſaid Pretender, and perſons employed by him, knowing them to be ſo employed.*

But

But has either part of this charge been made good by the counſel for the bill? Have they *proved* me guilty of any one *conſultation* with any *one* perſon whatſoever, for the purpoſes alledged? Is there any thing in the *Reports*, or *Appendixes*, that tends towards ſuch a proof, except the idle ſtory of the *Burford Club*, too much *exploded* already to be worth *confuting*, and two or three looſe paſſages in *Neynoe's* and *Pancier's* hear-ſay informations, where I am mentioned (by the one or the other) together with the Lords *Orrery*, *North*, *Strafford*, *Kinoul*, and Sir *H. Goring*, as concerned in the management of this affair? *Neynoe's* pretended intelligence is from *Kelly*; *Pancier's* from *Skeen*: both *Kelly* and *Skeen* have, at your bar, denied that they ever ſaid any ſuch thing.

I have met all theſe Lords, I own, at different times: but, upon the beſt recollection I can make, I never, in all my life, was with any *three* of them at *once*, unleſs perhaps at ſome general meeting about affairs then depending in parliament.

The Earl of *Strafford* has viſited me now and then, and I him, when I had health; and I have dined with him *once* at his houſe,

and *but once* that I remember. At my Lord North's table I have not eat ſo much as once; and though I have a great honour for that noble Lord, yet I never had any intimacy with him; eſpecially ſince the affair of the *Dormitory* *, wherein he appeared againſt me with ſo much zeal and earneſtneſs, that I had certainly loſt the cauſe if his affairs had not called him into Holland while it was depending. *Lawſon* indeed has ſworn, from *Farnden* [who denies it], that this Lord often viſited me at *Bromley*: but in truth he never was there above *thrice* in all his life; and if he had been there oftener, a good account might have been given of ſuch an intercourſe; for he is a *tenant* of the biſhoprick.

With my Lord *Kinoul*, I verily believe, I have not been *once* theſe *two years*: nor met my Lord *Orrery* with company upon any buſineſs whatever but that of parliament during the ſame time; and once, I think, we dined together at the houſe of a great perſon, whoſe name if I ſhould mention, your Lordſhips would not think any harm done, or intended, at ſuch a meeting. I am thus

* See vol. I. p. 74.

particular as to my Lord *Orrery*, becauſe he is ſaid to have been the *Chairman* of that club, of which I was ſo ill a *member* as not to know, no not even at this day, of *whom* it conſiſted, or *where* it was held. But when the *chairman* was *bailed*, this groundleſs and ſenſeleſs piece of ſcandal vaniſhed.

I ſcarce ever viſited Sir *Henry Goring* in my life. He has ſeen me indeed ſeveral times at the Deanry, but not once at *Bromley:* and the occaſion of ſuch viſits was, his placing four of his ſons at Weſtminſter-ſchool, where (I think) they ſtill are, and his intentions to breed ſome of them up for the college. But Mr. Caryl's information (upon hear-ſay, as all the reſt againſt me are) about a rupture between us, is ſo far from being true, that the laſt time Sir Harry ſaw me (above a twelve-month ago) I promiſed him to bring one of his ſons in upon the foundation; and wiſh I may be able to be as good as my word.

Your Lordſhips will excuſe the *particularity* of my accounts, when you conſider how dangerous a thing it is for any man to be thought too well acquainted with me, and how fit it is therefore that I ſhould clear the perſons

charged from ſo miſchievous an imputation? eſpecially ſince with theſe, and theſe only, I am reported, or inſinuated, to have held *conſultations* to forward the conſpiracy; the firſt grand article of the general charge: and indeed a conſpiracy *without* conſultations is not very intelligible. How that article has been made good, your Lordſhips will judge; not one *overt-act*, or *circumſtance* of *time* and *place*, being *alledged*, much leſs *proved*.

I proceed now to enquire, whether there be any better evidence for my *conſpiring* and *correſponding* than there is for my *conſulting*.

And here, my Lords, the *only* article I meet with of an *home-correſpondence* for ſuch wicked purpoſes is, that of the *military-cheſt*, and a fund of £.200,000. ſaid to be raiſed by contributions, for the uſe of the conſpirators, and depoſited in my hands. This ſtands upon Mr. *Pancier's* report, from Mr. *Skeen*, who has told your Lordſhips, that it is falſe; and indeed, my Lords, I believe that it is; for, though I know not Mr. Skeen, yet he has the reputation of a *ſenſible* man; and therefore, I am perſuaded, could not ſay ſo *ſilly* a thing. I refer myſelf to what my counſel have urged on this head; and ſhall only

only add my ſolemn aſſurances, that I never had in my poſſeſſion or power, of my own, or other man's money lodged in *my* hands, or in the hands of *others* with my conſent or privity, either in ſpecie, bills, bonds, or ſecurities of any kind, full £.1,200. at any one time of my life, ſince I married my daughter about eight years ago, *except* the money I collected for the dormitory; and which, as ſoon as I had it, I depoſited in other hands, that I judged reſponſible. It would be well for me (if I muſt be ruined by the preſent bill) that this article were in ſome meaſure true; for, as no great ſum appears to have been diſburſed on this plot, I ſuppoſe the gentlemen concerned would not envy me my ſhare of it: and then the thoughts of perpetual exile would be more tolerable, when I was ſure of ſome ſupport. The Committee of the Houſe of Commons *beat* upon this point often, and make uſe of it to corroborate ſeveral of their ſurmiſes and gueſſes upon ambiguous paſſages in intercepted letters. One would think they were in earneſt! And yet they are all of them honourable men, and of good underſtanding.

I wiſh it were practicable, my Lords, to inſert an advertiſement in the Gazette, inviting every man who had lodged any money with me for ſuch a purpoſe to declare it, and promiſing him pardon, I would willingly join in ſuch invitation, by ſigning it myſelf. And if any one perſon of character ſhould, with circumſtances of credibility, affirm any ſuch thing, I would not put your Lordſhips to the trouble of convicting me, but own the whole charge.

I am not *proved*, therefore I am not with the leaſt colour of proof *charged*, to have *conſulted* and *conſpired* here at home.

The next (and indeed the only material) part of the charge is, my *correſponding abroad with the Pretender and thoſe employed by him, knowing them to be ſo employed.*

An high and heinous accuſation, my Lords! ſtrongly *aſſerted*, much *inſiſted* on; but how maintained? is the queſtion.

The true ſtate of this part of my charge, as fairly and fully as I can collect it, is this; I will not, in any degree, diſſemble the force of it.

1. That

1. That I did (April 20, 1722) dictate *three letters**, to Mr. *Dillon*, the late Lord *Mar*, and the *Pretender* himſelf; under the feigned names of *Chivers*, *Muſgrave*, and *Jackſon*; to which letters the names of *Jones* and *Illington*, and the number 1378 (all denoting me) were, by my direction, ſubſcribed.

2. That afterwards two letters from two of theſe, *Mar* and *Dillon* (of the dates of May 11th and July 25) were ſent me, under the feigned names of *Motfield* and *Dixwell*; and intercepted coming to me.

3. That a certain intercepted correſpondence between the Pretender's agents abroad, and ſome perſons here, attributed partly to Mr. *Kelly*, and partly to Mr. *Carte* on this ſide, was directed *by me*; and that I was at the head of it, and am therefore anſwerable for what is contained in it.

This is the ſubſtance of my charge: all the other particulars alledged are *circumſtantial*, and made uſe of only as they are thought to give light and ſtrength to one or other of theſe articles.

* See theſe in vol. I. p. 120. et ſeq.

As to the *firſt* of theſe points, That the letter to *Jackſon* moſt certainly *was not a letter to the Pretender*; and, to whomſoever it was written, yet that I did not, and could not, poſſibly dictate either *that*, or the *two others* of the ſame date, has been made out to your Lordſhips, by ſuch a variety of convincing reflections, and ſuch a concurrence of evidence (clear, full, and legal evidence) as, I perſuade myſelf, can have left no doubt remaining upon the mind of any candid and indifferent perſon.

A plain matter of fact, ſupported by ſuch united teſtimonies, cannot be overthrown by thoſe little gueſſes and ſurmiſes that are brought to ſhake it.

Indeed, I was under the known difficulty of proving a *negative*, which in *many* caſes is *not* to be done. But it ſo happened in *this* caſe, that the peculiar circumſtances attending this point of time, and never concurring in any other part of my life, have enabled me to do it; and, as they have given great advantages towards colouring the charge brought againſt me, ſo have they given me ſtill greater towards removing it. My being confined April 20, 1722, to my bed or chair,

and

and attended every minute, day and night, *before*, *at*, and *after* that time, by *ſome* of my ſervants, and receiving frequent meſſages by *others* about my wife's illneſs and approaching death; the agreeing teſtimony of the whole family, that no *ſtranger* came near me about this time; and the coincidence of the election for the ſchool of Weſtminſter, which made my ſeveral ſervants capable of recollecting the times at which they were either *with me* or *from* me; have concurred towards furniſhing me with ſuch a proof of my innocence in this matter as, I hope, is not to be withſtood.

That theſe three letters are in the hand of Mr. Kelly, my ſuppoſed amanuenſis, has been ſworn by the clerks of the poſt-office: but, your Lordſhips will remember, their oaths were at four months diſtance from the time of ſeeing thoſe letters: that, during that whole ſeries of letters ſtopped and copied, they never had an opportunity of comparing one original with another; and that the only original of Auguſt 20, which they detained as a ſpecimen of the reſt, has been proved, at your bar, by .... witneſſes, not to be in the hand of Mr. *Kelly*; and you will likewiſe

wiſe pleaſe to remember, that the very ſuppoſition of Mr. *Kelly's* being my ſecretary for ſuch affairs, or even in any degree of intimacy with me, has been ſhewn to be falſe and groundleſs.

The *decypherers* aſſertions are neceſſary to ſupport this part of the charge. But, I hope, they will not be e'er the more prevalent with your Lordſhips becauſe the accuſed perſon has had no opportunity of examining them. This cannot poſſibly be done at your *bar*; and when I deſired *copies*, in order to conſider them *elſewhere*, they were denied me. Whereas, with your favour, my Lords, I had hopes, that ſuch new evidence, depending on the integrity, as well as ſkill of the dealers in this dark art, might have been attended alſo with ſome new indulgence to to the criminal; and that nothing ſhould have been produced againſt me which I could not *confute* only *becauſe* I could not *underſtand*.

From *one inſtance* upon which theſe gentlemen have been examined, it has appeared that they are at a loſs to prove the *certainty* of their *concluſions*, built on ſuch *uncertain premiſes*; and that the *ſcience of decypherin*g (with

(with the leave of the Noble and Right Reverend Lords that drew up the Report) is not a phraſe that belongs to them. It may be an *art*, and carry *ſome* degree of *probability* with it, in *ſome* caſes: but being founded on *gueſſes*, and thoſe (as you have heard) ſometimes very uncertain and precarious, it can be no *ſcience*. Nor ought ſuch explications of decypherers to be urged by way of teſtimony in any *criminal* cauſe, unleſs the party accuſed had had time allowed him ſufficient to examine into the truth of thoſe explications; which theſe gentlemen themſelves have owned at your bar cannot, on the ſpot and in an inſtant, be done: and, I hope, their opinion will have as much weight with your Lordſhips in *one* caſe, as their conjectures in *another*.

If it be ſaid, *Who* then wrote theſe *three letters*, and with *what view* were they written? the anſwer to the *latter* of theſe queſtions is pretty obvious: my being here at your bar ſufficiently explains it. But am I to be called upon to give any account of the *former?* It is ſufficient for *me* to prove who *did not* write them, and I have proved it abſun-

abundantly. Let but any momentous part of the charge brought againſt me be made out with *half* the evidence, and I will ſubmit without diſputing it. *Five* or *ſix* ſuch *living witneſſes* would have borne down the teſtimony of *one* or *two*, who ſhould even have ſworn the contrary. But where there are *none* on the *one* ſide (but only uncertain gueſſes and ſpecious *appearances*), and ſuch a *crowd* of poſitive direct witneſſes on the *other*; can your Lordſhips deliberate for a moment about the reaſonableneſs of fixing your judgements, which ought always, even in doubtful caſes, to lean toward the favourable ſide?

I ſhall therefore take this point, in what follows, as once for all eſtabliſhed and granted; and go on ſecurely to ſhow the weakneſs of the *reſt* of the allegations, which have no *ſtrength* but as they derive it from *this*. When once the foundation is undermined, the reſt of the building muſt totter and tumble.

As to the other part of the accuſation on this head, that the Letter to *Jackſon* was a letter to the *Pretender*, I have nothing to do with it. He that wrote that letter, when known, will beſt be able, as he is moſt concerned,

cerned, to diſprove it. However, ſince this objection was thrown in merely *ad conflandam invidiam*, and as carrying an odious ſound with it, I ſhall briefly ſhew your Lordſhips how that matter ſtands. *Jackſon*, it ſeems, in a cypher of Plunket's, is ſaid to denote the Pretender: therefore, in a letter ſuppoſed to be dictated by me, and put into cypher by Mr. Kelly, it muſt denote him alſo. Now Plunket's cypher, my Lords, conſiſts of 150 names, of which not one is even uſed in any of the letters attributed to Mr. Kelly. Three or four of theſe names are indeed uſed by perſons ſuppoſed to have written to Mr. Kelly from abroad: but not one of them is uſed by him. Nor does *Jackſon* ever in his part of the correſpondence ſtand for the Pretender; though he has fifty occaſions of mentioning him, it is always under other appellations. Nay, Plunket himſelf, in all his letters written upon this cypher, never ſtyles the Pretender *Jackſon*, but either *Joſeph* or *Jephſon*. Why ſhould a name in Kelly's correſpondence be explained by an article in Plunket's cypher, which Kelly appears no way to be acquainted with, and which Plunket himſelf never in this inſtance uſed? I forbear any further repe-

repetition on this head, and ſhall only add, that at this rate of interpreting the feigned names in one man's letters by the cypher of another, what is there that might not be proved? The gentlemen at the bar have made *ſome* obſervations of this kind: let *me* add *one more.* In the intercepted correſpondence, the *Pretender* is ſometimes ſtyled *Addiſon*: but in *Plunket's* cypher, *Addiſon* ſtands always for the *Abp. of Canterbury.* I make this remark with all due regard to that moſt reverend Prelate, and think it no greater a reflection upon *him*, than it is upon *me* to have the name *Juſtus* allotted me in the ſame cypher: which yet the Committee of the Lower Houſe think to be an obſervation of ſome weight; elſe they would not have given it a place in their report.

[* In *this* point alſo (and indeed in every point) thoſe who undertook my defence laboured under a very great hardſhip; ſince they had no other materials to help them to diſprove the miſapplication made of the feigned name of *Jackſon*, but what they had

* This paragraph is croſſed over in the Biſhop's copy.

from

from the *Report* and *Appendix*. And yet, even by the help of *theſe*, they have been able to do it ſo clearly, ſo effectually, as to admit of no reply. Doubtleſs, whoever had the opportunity they wanted, of inſpecting *all* original papers relating to the conſpiracy, *muſt*, or *might* have known *ſtill* better than *they* have been able to *prove*, that *Jackſon* (to whom the letter of April 20 is directed) *was not the Pretender*.]

My Lords, theſe *three* were the only letters at firſt expreſsly aſcribed to *me*. There is another to *Dubois* *, lately found out to be of my handwriting: of which thoſe who ſeized my papers eight months ago were ſo little aware, that, though they had then 500 others, confeſſedly of my *hand-writing*, yet they never, upon a *compariſon* of them with *this*, ſuſpected it to have been written *by me*; and therefore it was charged in the Report as a letter I had received, which diſcovered one of the fictitious names that belonged to me. The tables are now turned; and I myſelf have written this letter to a feigned correſpondent, and preſerved it among my papers under the original ſeal, a Tully's

* See vol. I. p. 121.

head,

head, the ſame which I have uſed on other occaſions. To what end, my Lords; for the letter itſelf is an errant trifle, and not worth preſerving? Why, to furniſh a proof, which was very much wanted, of my anſwering letters by the hand of Mr. *Johnſon*, alias *Kelly*. Very ſtrange! that I, who am repreſented as being ſo cautious on all *other* occaſions, ſhould be ſo careleſs on *this*; and keep ſuch a ſlight note of my own (the very original under my own hand and ſeal!) which could be of no uſe to me, and yet might hurt me ſo much when diſcovered. But, in truth, it is not of my hand-writing: I appeal ſecurely to every one that knows it. Had I written it, it is abſurd to think that I ſhould uſe a feigned name only for my correſpondent, and mention Mr. *Kelly* without diſguiſe by the name of *Johnſon*, which (as the Committee obſerve on this very occaſion) *was the name by which he conſtantly went.* It has no date of the *year*, and by the *ink* ſeems to have been written many years ago: if above *four*, it was before I had ever ſeen the face of Mr. *Kelly*.

As to the *ſeal*, it is a common one; and that nothing can be inferred from thence, appears

appears from the examinations taken at your bar, to which I refer myſelf.

I know not what further can be ſaid on this matter till the counſel have further explained themſelves, and told us what uſe they intend to make of the experiments about the ſimilitude of ſeals; which has given your Lordſhips much trouble, and which, I own, I do not comprehend.

However, this Letter to *Dubois*, as inſignificant as it may be in other reſpects, yet thus far is of uſe, as it ſhews the weakneſs of any charge that is ſupported by ſuch uncertain conjectures and precarious reaſonings. Two ſchemes have been advanced concerning it, contradicting each other; one of them *muſt*, and both *may* be falſe; and whichſoever of them is true, yet nothing to the diſadvantage of the perſon accuſed can be built upon either.

The extraordinary ſtep lately taken at the Tower, in order to diſcover ſomewhat that might fortify the conjectures raiſed on this letter, do, I think, ſhew that they were not much depended on. Elſe ſurely it had not been worth while to endeavour to

ſtrengthen them by ſuch an act of illegal violence!

The ſecond article of my charge is, that two letters from *Mar* and *Dillon*, under the feigned names of *Motfield* and *Dixwell*, were intercepted coming to me. One of them the counſel for the bill hath dropped, but I ſhall conſider both of them. That they *reached* me, is not *affirmed*; that I *anſwered* them, is not *pretended*; and is by me, with great truth, *denied*. Both the letters are mere compliments, without a criminal expreſſion, or a word of buſineſs in either of them. They would affect me indeed if received, as the perſons *ſuppoſed* to have written them are ſuch with whom I ought to maintain no correſpondence. But is that *proved*, as well as *ſuppoſed*? Is there any *evidence* concerning the *hands* in which they were written? Not a word! And yet *that* ſeems very neceſſary in order to aſcertain the charge. Any man that pleaſes may write to me, and take to himſelf what feigned *names* he pleaſes. But I am not anſwerable for ſuch letters, unleſs I appear to have received and approved them, and to have kept up the correſpondence; nothing

thing of which kind is, in this caſe, attempted to be made out.

The letter from *Motfield* to *Illington*, of May 11, cannot reaſonably be thought to have been written with any other view than that of being intercepted, and of fixing on me the letter of April 20 to *Muſgrave*, the receipt of which is there owned; and ſomething is further added, to point out my function and circumſtances, and prevent miſtakes. This letter is committed to the common poſt, and ſent upon its errand! One may doubt *who* wrote it: but one cannot doubt with what deſign it was written. Your Lordſhips wiſdom will ſee through theſe malicious diſguiſes, and not make me accountable for letters thus bandied to and fro in the dark, between two unknown correſpondents, on purpoſe to raiſe ſuſpicions of a *third*, who is altogether a ſtranger to what they are doing.

And here, my Lords, I deſire that the obſervation made by my counſel may not be forgotten, that, in all the intercepted letters from abroad, the perſons that lie hid under *fictitious names* are ſcarce ever diſcovered and pointed out by the addition of ſuch facts

and dates, and particular circumſtances, as may faſten thoſe names upon them; ſo that the Committee, though they make a ſhift to gueſs, yet are often at a loſs to ſay with any aſſurance who is meant by them. In my caſe only the matter is otherwiſe; for the fictitious names applied to me are attended generally with ſuch deſcriptions and circumſtantial accounts, as may naturally lead thoſe who ſhould intercept the letters to fix on me. The writers of them uſe their art, not to diſguiſe, but open the ſcene, and ſeem to be in pain leſt they ſhould not be well enough underſtood wherever they would have it thought that I am concerned. Now this, being contrary to the methods of reſerve practiſed by them in all other caſes, ſmells ſtrongly of contrivance.

The letter of July 25, from *Dixwell* to *Weſton*, is an exception in this caſe, and not ſo well contrived as it ſhould have been if *I* am to be underſtood by *Weſton*. It is written upon the plan of thoſe circumſtances I was under two or three months before; which the writer had heard of, and unluckily applied at a juncture when they were altogether improper and impertinent. And though he

reached

reached his aim in *one* reſpect, that his letter was *intercepted*, yet he miſſed it in *another*; for it does not *deſcribe* me.

My Lords, theſe two are the *only* inſtances of my being *directly* concerned in any foreign correſpondence. They are not ſufficient, when duly conſidered, even to blaſt a man's *fame*: ſhall they contribute to affect me in ſo high a manner as is intended?

It remains to be conſidered in the third place, whether a certain intercepted correſpondence between the Pretender's agents *abroad* [*and Mr. *Kelly* was] really *directed* by me; whether I was at the head of it, and am therefore to anſwer for what is contained in it.

That *I am not*, Mr. *Kelly himſelf*, I hear, has *owned* at your bar; and *declared* that he never imparted a *line* to me of any *one* letter he wrote to foreign parts: [†and if Mr. *Carte* was here, he would, I am ſure, out of juſtice to me, and regard to truth, make the like declaration. Since he is not, I can only purge myſelf of it in the moſt ſerious and awful manner, as I will do before I finiſh

* Originally, [and ſome perſons *here*, and attributed partly to Mr. *Kelly*, and partly to Mr. *Carte*, on *this ſide*, was really, &c.]

† This paſſage is croſſed out in the Biſhop's copy.

what I have to ſay to your Lordſhips.] I meddle not with what concerns *him*, any farther than it may be thought to affect *me*. And the chief inſtance of that kind which occurs, is the preſent of the *dog*, ſaid to be made to Mr. *Jones* or Mrs. *Illington*.

The true account of that matter is, that in a letter to *Hatfield*, May 5th, from one who ſigns 918 (interpreted *Marr*) are theſe words, *The little dog was ſent ten days ago, and ordered to be delivered to you.* But there is no intimation in this, or any other letter from *abroad*, that the preſent was intended further. In two other letters from *hence* (by *whom* written does not *yet* appear) ſomebody is mentioned, under the different names of Mr. *Jones* and Mrs. *Illington*, in ſuch a manner as if the preſent had been deſigned for that perſon: but with ſuch abſurd circumſtances as are neither applicable to my wife nor me. Particularly, May 7, in a letter from *Hatfield*, it is ſaid, *Mrs. Illington is in great tribulation for poor Harlequin*; which, being five days after the burial of my wife, cannot mean *her*; and, being *but* five days after it, can as little mean *me*, conſidering the melancholy circumſtances I was then under. So that the writer of this letter muſt either have known nothing

nothing of my family affairs; or, if he did, muſt have diſſembled his knowledge of them, in order to raiſe a ſuſpicion of me with relation to this preſent. And in either caſe, what he ſays is not to be regarded.

The French ſurgeon and Mr. Kelly, who only know any thing of this matter, clear me. Mrs. Barnes has varied in her evidence, and has ſometimes affirmed, and ſometimes denied, that the dog was for me. And the moſt that ſhe has ever ſaid on that head is, that Mr. Kelly once told her ſo. For myſelf, I can with all truth and ſerioufneſs ſay, that I never *aſked*, *received*, or *ſaw* this preſent, nor know any thing of it but from *common fame*; nor have I to this day had any *letter* or *meſſage* whatever, from any one, concerning it.

The aim of this little contrivance ſeems to have been to point me out as the perſon to whom the names of *Jones* and *Illington*, ſubſcribed to the letters of April 20, belonged; by uſing them again on the occaſion of this *preſent*, and taking care ſo to manage the whole as that it ſhould become matter of public diſcourſe. And perhaps they were not much in the wrong, who thought, that *one*

intercepted dog might be as uſeful to this purpoſe as *ten intercepted letters.* However, both ways were tried, and *muſt* have ſucceeded, had I not been able to prove that thoſe letters were not written by my order, or with my knowledge. And therefore the uſe of ſuch names in ſubſequent letters is only a continuance of the fraud thus begun; and the latter is eaſily accounted for, when once we are ſatisfied of the former.

And this obſervation runs through the whole of this correſpondence, wherever the names of *Jones* and *Illington* occur. To apply theſe to *me*, becauſe they are ſaid to belong to me in the letters of April 20, is to *beg* the very point that is *denied*; and has not only been *denied*, but *diſproved* with all manner of evidence and clearneſs.

My counſel have ſhewn, that ſome things ſaid of *Jones* in (what is called) the intercepted correſpondence are to the laſt degree abſurd when applied to *me.* And no one would ever have thus applied them, but upon a ſuppoſition that I dictated the letter of April 20, to which the name of *Jones* is ſubſcribed. That ſuppoſition is deſtroyed

and

and with it every thing falls that depends altogether upon it.

I can add little to what my counſel have ſaid concerning the other feigned names of *Rig* and *Weſton*; and ſhall not trouble your Lordſhips with mere repetitions. It has been ſhewn, that what is ſaid of theſe in *ſome inſtances*, cannot poſſibly mean *me*; if in *other* obſcure paſſages I am deſigned by thoſe names (which I neither admit nor deny), the writers of ſuch letters, when diſcovered, can beſt explain their own *meaning*: it is all a riddle to me; and till I am proved to have been privy to this correſpondence (which can never be done) the ſolution of it no ways concerns me. The coincidence of my journeys to and from Bromley, with the accounts given by the writers of theſe letters, was the point principally relied on to prove that they had frequent acceſs to me, and therefore probably wrote by my advice and direction. But your Lordſhips have heard it made out (and becauſe it is very material, I ſhall briefly repeat it), that of *ſeven* inſtances of this kind inſiſted on in the Report, *three* are manifeſt miſtakes; *two* only of the accounts are exact; and *two* others may be right or wrong,

wrong, as the words are explained in this or that meaning. And had they all been exact, yet nothing could have been inferred from them, becauſe it was eaſy for the perſon who managed this tranſaction here to get an account of my motions from my neighbours and ſervants, in order to render his contrivance the more plauſible and probable.

That Mr. *Kelly* is no ſtranger to me, I own: but that he is in any degree intimate with me, or *frequently* ſaw me, I deny. Or what evidence is there for it, but the idle tales of Mrs. *Levet?* or how is his ſolemn denial of it at your bar contradicted? Mrs. *Kilburn* ſays, he was once to have *dined* with me: What then? *Flower* the chairman ſays, he carried him twice or thrice to the Deanry about *four years ago*, but never found me at home. I believe what he ſays is falſe: but admit it. *Vanlear* the porter ſays, he brought a letter and ſome ſtockings from Mr. *Kelly* to me at the Deanry, and carried once a ſealed note from me back again to him, about Chriſtmas was twelvemonth. The foundation of this ſtory is true, that Mr. Kelly furniſhed me with beaver-ſtockings and gloves; and therefore I ſhall not diſpute what he ſays;

ſays; though that circumſtance of a porter's coming up to me, at the dirtieſt time of the year, into my bed-chamber, is very extraordinary. And even this evidence owns, that though he was the perſon that conſtantly went on Mr. *Kelly's* errands, when he was in the way, yet he never was ſent by him but twice to me in ſome years.

There is no proof beſides, but the *late* recollections of Mrs. *Levet*, ſince ſhe was aſperſed as a *woman of an ill fame* by Mrs. Barnes before the Houſe of Commons, and has had perhaps other inducements to whet her memory, which yet goes no further than to cite Mrs. *Barnes* for what ſhe ſays Mrs. *Barnes* told her from *Kelly*. And it is obſervable, that in the ſame depoſition ſhe quotes the ſame authority for 200 perſons being ſent out of the way, to prevent their diſcovering ſomewhat; and ſhe inſinuates that they were *murdered:* for that, I think, is the natural meaning of their *never ſeeing the light again.* I ſuppoſe, one part of her depoſition is juſt as true as the other. Now, on the *other* ſide, there is the evidence of all my ſervants, and others, who have upon oath atteſted that they do not know either the

the *name* or *face* of Mr. Kelly, which could not poſſibly be, if he uſed *frequently* to reſort to me.

[* The ſame they ſay of Mr. *Carte*. Indeed a brother † of his, for whom, at the inſtance of a noble lord, I procured a living from the chapter of Weſtminſter, ſaw me often for two or three years laſt paſt; but Mr. Carte the Nonjuror very rarely.]

Such a ſlight acquaintance as I had with either of them could be no temptation to enter into ſecrets of ſuch a dangerous conſequence as thoſe which the Report ſuppoſes to have paſſed between us. They muſt know little either of *them* or *me*, that could *ſuſpect* ſuch a thing of me!

However, *ſuſpicion* is not now the buſineſs, but *proof*. They that *prove ſomething* may be allowed *to ſuſpect more:* but they that *prove nothing* have no right to indulge their endleſs ſuſpicions and conjectures to the ruin of any man; for twenty probabilities, *allowed to be ſuch*, are not equal to one plain matter of fact, well atteſted. They may ſtrengthen

* This paragraph is croſſed over in the Biſhop's copy.

† John Carte, M. A. Vicar of Hinckley.

the

the teſtimony of a living witneſs; but they cannot riſe up to the force of it. They cannot of themſelves be *evidence*, either in *law* or *reaſon*: becauſe one ſet of probabilities may be oppoſed by another, and, at that rate, the mind of the judge muſt for ever be kept in ſuſpence. I uſe this diſtinction between evidence in *law* and evidence in *reaſon*; becauſe the counſel for the bill ſeem to have reſorted to ſomething like it: whereas I always thought, that the *public law* of the ſtate was the *public reaſon* of the ſtate, and that whatever might be *reaſonable* evidence in *another* country (though in my conſcience the evidence brought againſt me would be thought reaſonable in none), yet in *this* country no evidence could be *reaſonable* that was not *legal*.

But I aſk, by what ſort of evidence, either in law or reaſon, the accuſation brought againſt me has been maintained?

How am I *proved*, in the

1ſt place, "To have traiterouſly *conſulted*
"and *correſponded* with divers perſons
"to raiſe an inſurrection and rebel-
"lion againſt his Majeſty *within* this
"kingdom, and to procure a *foreign*
"force

" force to *invade* the ſame, in order
" to depoſe his Majeſty, and place the
" Pretender on his throne?"

How am I *proved*, in the
2d place, " To have traiterouſly *cor-*
" *reſponded* with the ſaid *Pretender*,
" and perſons employed by him,
" *knowing* them to be ſo employed?"

Is there *one* article of *either* of theſe charges *made out* againſt me, I ſay not in the due *forms* of *law*, but with any *colour* of reaſon? Is any one otherwiſe ſupported than by *ſuppoſitions without proof*, nay by ſuppoſitions actually *diſproved*, and ſhewn to be vain and groundleſs. If the *proof* brought, in all theſe caſes, wants ſtrength, can the *hearſays* of *Neynoe* afford it any, which do themſelves, above all other parts of the Report, want to be proved, and rendered credible?

Neynoe pretended not (for aught appears) to *know* any thing of *me*: He only quotes Mr. *Kelly* for his intelligence. Mr. *Kelly* abſolutely denies it; and there is nobody elſe to back it. I think ſuch a dead evidence cannot affect Mr. *Kelly* himſelf; much leſs can it

affect

affect *me* through *him*, when he declares he never ſaid any ſuch things. Were *Neynoe* now alive, and Mr. Kelly dead, and incapable of contradicting him, what *Neynoe* pretended to have by *hearſay* only from *Kelly* would not ſure be of much weight. Shall what *Neynoe*, now *dead*, ſays againſt a *third* perſon, and *Kelly* now *living* contradicts, be thought of any moment?

Concerning *hearſay evidence* in general, and the regard that is due to it, I deſire your Lordſhips a paſſage may be read out of Sir John Fenwick's bill of attainder. [*N. B.* the whole preamble read.] There it is recited, as one of the inducements that moved the King, Lords, and Commons, to paſs that act, that he had "contrived and "framed falſe and ſcandalous papers, as his "informations, reflecting on the fidelity of "ſeveral noble peers, divers members of the "Houſe of Commons, and others, ONLY BY "HEARSAY." Shall *that* be accepted in *this* Parliament for *evidence*, which is declared to have been *one* motive for attainting a man in *another?* If it were an aggravation of Sir John Fenwick's guilt to have charged *other* men by *hearſay*, ſhall the being thus charged be

be any proof of mine? Surely that Houſe of Commons in 1696, which brought in the bill, would not have thought ſo; nor will thoſe of your Lordſhips ſo think, that conſented (here or elſewhere) to the paſſing of it. And as for thoſe who did not conſent to it, I may venture to ſay that they will be exceedingly puzzled to find a reaſon why they oppoſed Sir J. Fenwick's bill, and yet favour the paſſing of this. Is the guilt objected to me, if it could be proved, in any meaſure, like his? or is there any compariſon between the proof made againſt him, and that by which I am attacked, ſo as to make it unreaſonable in his caſe, and reaſonable in mine, to ſupply the defects of ſuch proof by an act of parliament? But I return to *Neynoe*, into whoſe character and credibility it is needleſs to enquire, after the concurrent teſtimony of thoſe five witneſſes which appeared at your Lordſhips' bar on Thurſday laſt. And even without their aſſiſtance, the very papers of informations given in by *Neynoe*, and printed in the Appendix, are ſufficient to ſatisfy us of his character. It is plain he was prepared to have ſworn backwards and forwards; to have affirmed or denied any thing.

He

He was let into all *ſecrets*, if you will believe him. He knew that a certain *Lord of the council gave me notice of my being to be taken up, ſome days before it happened*; he knew even *to what uſe and purpoſe the proteſts of your Lordſhips in the laſt ſeſſion were chiefly deſigned and calculated*; and, as appears from the paper found in his pocket after his death, had *undertaken* to give an account of it. I wonder much that perſons of good diſcernment ſhould think it worth their while either to aſk, or to receive ſuch accounts from him; or even to print the paper wherein that monſtrous article is contained, becauſe it ſuggeſts a reflection, which, though it touches me nearly, I care not to explain. He was the late Earl Mariſchal's bedfellow for ſeveral nights: from *him* he received *heads*, and upon them drew up *three* ſeveral *memorials* to the *Regent*. It happened unfortunately that he kept no copy of theſe *heads*, nor the *foul draughts* of ſuch *memorials*, which it imported him in the higheſt degree to have done, whether he then intended to go on in the way he was in of promoting the conſpiracy, or to diſcover it. In *either* caſe, the evidence of his having been thus employed would

have been of great ſervice to him. But he was not able to produce a line of ſuch heads or memorials; and yet the Report of the Houſe of Commons upon the baſis of theſe memorials builds the whole fabric of the conſpiracy.

He *knew*, what nobody elſe ever knew, that I have lain hid under the name of *Naunton*; and would doubtleſs have *known who* my correſpondent *Dubois* was, had the ſcheme of my writing that letter myſelf been then thought of. He would have found out a reaſon for my correſponding with the Cardinal of that name; and £. 500. would have made him affirm, that he carried the letter *himſelf*; though, perhaps, afterwards he would not have ſtood to his word!

He knew the *Pretender's* particular opinion of *me*—or of *any body elſe* if it had been thought fit to aſk him—*that he relied upon advices from me more than from any man.* How did he know it? *Kelly* told him ſo. But who told *Kelly* this? for it is not to be ſuppoſed that a man of Mr. Kelly's rank had it from the Pretender himſelf, but from perſons of an high ſtation, and nearer to the Pretender. Let us conſider, once for all, how

how this part of Neynoe's evidence muſt ſtand upon the foot of a certain paper in the Appendix (E 8.), intituled, "Notes taken by "Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer," &c. A right honourable perſon hears *Neynoe* ſay, that he had heard *Kelly* ſay, what he muſt have heard perſons of greater figure ſay, that they had heard the Pretender ſay, concerning the Biſhop of Rocheſter. And by this chain of hearſays, thus deduced, am *I proved* to be a ſort of *firſt Miniſter* to the Pretender.

[* And this is to be offered *as* evidence to your Lordſhips; and if it be not received, you muſt either condemn me without any, or acquit me. For there is not an hearſay beſide this, and ſuch as theſe from *Neynoe*, againſt me; except *one* other from *Pancier*, about the *military cheſt*, which has been already conſidered.]

Let me ſpeak, my Lords, (always, I hope, with that modeſty which becomes an accuſed perſon, but yet) with the freedom of an Engliſhman. Had nothing been opened to you concerning this man's character and ſecret tranſactions, could you poſſibly have be-

* This paragraph is croſſed over in the Biſhop's copy.

lieved the romantic tales he has told? Could this pretender to ſecrets have had, or ſhall he ſtill have, any weight with your Lordſhips, who threw away his life rather than venture to ſtand to the truth of what he had ſaid? ſhall this man do more miſchief by his death, than he could have done if living? for then he could have been confronted, puzzled, and confounded; ſhame and conſciouſneſs might have made him *unſay* what he had *ſaid*. But a *dead* man can *retract* nothing. *What he has written he has written:* the accuſation muſt ſtand juſt as it is; and we are deprived of the advantages of thoſe *confeſſions*, which truth and remorſe had once extorted, and would again have extorted from him.

However, I ſhould have been glad to have had *all* that even this witneſs ſaid; and would have hoped that, by a compariſon of the ſeveral parts of the ſtory he at ſeveral times told, ſome light might have been gained that is now wanting; particularly by the knowledge of what he ſaid freely and voluntarily, and in good humour, before his rough uſage upon his return from Deal had frightened him into new confeſſion. But I think we have the evidence only of a few of the laſt

days

days of his life. All the preceding time, when he was moſt in favour and confidence with a great man, is a blank; we have no account of it; and yet, it is ſaid, he underwent frequent examinations during that time. But they were not, it ſeems, ſo maturely weighed and digeſted as to be thought worth being committed to writing.

But he is *gone to his place*, and has anſwered for what he has ſaid at another tribunal. I deſire not to blemiſh his character any farther than is abſolutely neceſſary to my *own juſt defence*, which I ſhall now purſue farther, by conſidering,

Firſt, the *inconſiſtency* of ſome parts of the charge brought againſt me, and then the utter *improbability* of it.

The Report takes notice of three ſeveral branches, or ſtages, of the conſpiracy; the 1ſt, which (in conſequence of ſome memorials to the Regent) was to have taken place *during the elections*; the 2d, upon *the King's going to Hanover*; the 3d, upon the breaking up of the encapment.

There is not an hint of my guilt as to the *laſt* of theſe three deſigns, in any paper whatſoever; and yet the recitals of the bill men-

tion this third branch of the plot, and that moſt deteſtable part of it, the intention of *laying violent hands on his Majeſty*; and charge me afterwards with the *whole*. And the counſel for the bill have opened it (very gravely) with an account of Mr. Layer's ſcheme, as if I had ſome concern in it, without offering the leaſt proof to that purpoſe. Theſe may be, for aught I know, the *forms of law* uſual in ſuch charges; but ſurely they are in themſelves *cruel artifices*, to involve a man in the appearances of guilt where there is not the leaſt colour or pretence for charging him.

Indeed of the *firſt* branch of the conſpiracy, which was to have taken place *during the elections*, I am ſuppoſed by the Committee (Rep. p. 3.) not to have been ignorant. The only argument for my guilt in that caſe is, a paſſage in the letter to *Jackſon*, April 20, 1722, where it is ſaid, the *preſent opportunity* is elapſed, *i. e.* (ſay the Committee out of the plenitude of their interpreting power) the opportunity of the *elections*, *moſt of which were then over*.

To clear this point, and withal to ſhew how *inconſiſtent* the ſeveral parts of my accuſation

ſation are, I ſhall recite the entire paſſage, as it lies in that letter, and make ſome reflections upon it.

"Notwithſtanding this opportunity is "elapſed," ſays the writer to Jackſon, "I "agree with you, another may offer before "the end of the year, though not perhaps "every way ſo favourable." The Committee *ſuppoſe* this to have been a letter to the *Pretender*, and they *ſuppoſe* this letter to have been dictated by *me*, and they *ſuppoſe* theſe words of it to refer to the time of the *elections*; and from theſe three ſuppoſitions *infer*, that I knew ſomewhat of a deſign *then* to take place. On the contrary, I ſhall, even upon the two firſt of theſe ſuppoſitions, ſhew that it is impoſſible the *laſt* of the three, and the inference drawn from thence, ſhould hold.

If this were a letter from *me* (or from *any one*) to the *Pretender*, it muſt have been in anſwer to one from him; repeating his very expreſſions, and *agreeing with* his opinion there declared, that a certain *opportunity was elapſed*. And his opinion expreſſed in that letter muſt have been founded on intelligence before received from England, which intel-

ligence, conſidering the diſtance between London and Rome, muſt have been communicated from hence *two months* at leaſt, if not longer, before the date of theſe letters of April 20; and if we go back two months from April 20, the opportunity of the elections was then ſo far from being *elapſed*, that it was not in ſome time to happen. Conſequently the *opportunity* hinted at in that letter of April 20 (whatever it meant) could not poſſibly mean the time of the *elections*, if this letter was (as the Committee not only ſuppoſe, but *affirm*) a letter to, and in anſwer to one written *from*, the Pretender.

My Lords, I am not now *proving* that this *was not* a letter to the Pretender, nor written by *me* (thoſe two points have been ſo well ſettled already by my counſel as to need no further clearing); but I am obſerving to your Lordſhips (as I have a right to do) how *inconſiſtent* the charge is; ſince, if this had been a letter to the Pretender, it is impoſſible that theſe words of it ſhould refer to the time of the elections; and again, if theſe words of it *do* refer to that time, it is impoſſible this ſhould have been a letter to the Pretender.

The

The *inconſiſtence* of the *charge* may alſo from the ſame paſſage of this letter be manifeſted in *another* reſpect. For the perſon writing it April 20 (if it be a letter written in good earneſt) appears to have *then* given over all thoughts of any new opportunity that ſhould offer, till towards the *end of the year*. ["I "agree with you," ſays he, "another op-"portunity may offer before the end of the "year."] And yet the Committee find ſome words in a letter written *ten* days afterwards [May 1.] wherein the Biſhop, under the feigned name of *Jones*, is ſuppoſed to be making ſome military preparations, and deeply engaged in that *ſecond* branch of the conſpiracy, which, they ſay, was deſigned upon the *King's going to Hanover*.

How do theſe things conſiſt? If I wrote, or dictated, that Letter of April 20, I could not be engaged in the *ſecond* branch of the conſpiracy then under agitation; if I was engaged in it, how can I be imagined to have written that letter? *Both* cannot be *true*, yet *both* are *charged*. But *both* may be *falſe*: and, I hope, I have ſatisfied your Lordſhips that, as I did not dictate the *one*, ſo I was no ways concerned in the *other*. Can any one

believe

believe that I was, who reflects on the ſad circumſtances I was then under? Afflicted by the death of my wife not yet interred, and deprived of the uſe of all my limbs by a ſevere fit of the gout! was *that* a time for *Jones to provide himſelf* (as the phraſe is) *with an eaſy ſaddle?* [* was *that* a time for him to be in *great tribulation for poor Harlequin*, as the correſpondent here, whoever he was, expreſſes it?] is there a man ſo far under the power of prejudice as to believe that ſuch an expreſſion, at ſuch a juncture, are applicable to me? I forbear further inſtances, though they are numerous; but I am naturally led, by this inſtance, to conſider the *improbability* (as well as *inconſiſtence*) of the charge brought againſt me. For, my Lords, ſince I am charged, without poſitive proof, by *probabilities* alone, you will, I doubt not, allow me to anſwer my indictment in the ſame manner it is laid, and to ſet *one* collection of probabilities againſt another!

Is it probable, my Lords, that, if I were engaged in any ſuch deſign, no footſteps ſhould appear of any correſpondence I have

* This ſentence is croſſed out in the Biſhop's copy.

had

had with the late Duke of *Ormond*, to whom, of *all* the perſons now abroad, I was beſt known, and for whom I had the greateſt regard, and ſtill have *all* the regard which is conſiſtent with my duty to my King and my country?

Is it probable that I ſhould chooſe rather to engage thus deeply with two perſons, one of which I never ſaw, and with the other I was but very ſlightly acquainted when he left England? did I not know, what all the world knew, that he had left the Pretender's ſervice now for many years, and was ſupported by a penſion from hence? was this a ſeaſon for me to enter into confidence with him about reſtoring the Pretender? and to do this, not by meſſages, but letters, and thoſe ſent, not by expreſſes, but by the common poſt; and containing ſuch accounts of my circumſtances and condition at that time (the moſt remarkable period of all my life) as, if my letters ſhould be intercepted would go a good way towards fixing them upon me? that, by thus writing to *him* by the poſt, I ſhould, as it were, invite him to write to *me* in the ſame manner, and by that means furniſh new opportunities towards de-

detecting the deſign, and bringing myſelf into danger?

How, upon this ſuppoſition, does that character of caution and warineſs, under which I am repreſented, at all belong to me? muſt I not have been the moſt raſh and indiſcreet of all men, if I laid myſelf open to detection in ſo fooliſh a manner? was I ſecure, and thought I ſhould not be watched and obſerved? It is plain, from a poſtſcript to one of thoſe letters, that the writer of them (whoever he was) thought otherwiſe. Could a man write that P. S. wherein he *reſolves to ſend nothing by the poſt*, and yet ſend that very letter by the poſt? is it not much more probable, that the artful writer intended by this means to account for the non-interception of any letters from the ſame perſon afterwards? This is a conſiſtent ſcheme; the other is a wild abſurdity!

Is it probable that, when I was attending the ſick bed of my wife, and was expecting her *death* not only *daily* but *hourly*, I ſhould enter into negotiations of that kind, and never after, when I was more at eaſe and liberty, reſume them?

There

There was no need of diſpatching at *that* time any *one* of theſe three letters. The *matter* of them required no *expedition*. They are mere *excuſes* for not writing; and had I been the inditer, the known circumſtances of my family and health would have been a ſufficient excuſe for my ſilence; and a *third* hand would as *effectually* and more *decently* have conveyed that excuſe.

Is it probable that, when I was carrying on public buildings of various kinds at *Weſtminſter* and *Bromley*, when I was conſulting all the books of the church of *Weſtminſter* from the foundation, and was engaged alſo in a correſpondence with two learned men *, about a ſubject of great uſe and equal difficulty, the ſettling the times of writing the Four Goſpels, that I ſhould *at that very time* be directing and carrying on a conſpiracy? He that can entertain ſuch a thought of me without reaſon, may alſo condemn me without a witneſs; and arguments will ſignify nothing to him.

Is it probable that I ſhould hold meetings and conſultations to form and forward this conſpiracy, and yet nobody living know

* The then Biſhop of Oxford Dr. Potter, and Dr. Wall.

where,

where, *when*, and *with whom*, they were held? that I, who lived always at home, and never (when at the Deanry) ſtirred out of one room, where I received all company promiſcuouſly, and denied not myſelf to any, ſhould have opportunities of concerting ſuch matters; or, if I had, yet that none of my domeſticks, or friends with whom I moſt familiarly lived, ſhould ever obſerve any appearances of this kind? that, if I had been in theſe meaſures, no evidence of it would have been found in my papers, which were all at once ſeized at both my houſes, and ſifted with the utmoſt exactneſs? that, after above *eight* months impriſonment, and above *twelve* months diligent enquiry into my conduct and correſpondence, my friendſhips and acquaintances; after confining all my men ſervants (but one) now for ſeven weeks, and ſearching me twice in the Tower itſelf, in order to make new diſcoveries; nothing of conſequence ſhould appear againſt me, nor any *one* living witneſs charge me with any thing really criminal?

Is it probable that I ſhould form a direct conſpiracy, that was to be carried on by force of arms, and to owe all its ſucceſs to the

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operations of war, with which I am no more acquainted than I am with the perſons fit to be employed on thoſe occaſions? My way of life has not led me to be converſant with ſuch men and ſuch matters: I have ſat in *Chapters*, in *Convocations*, in *Parliaments*; but in a *Council of War* I never ſat, much leſs was at the *head* of it.

Have I ever yet, in any one inſtance of my life, meddled remarkably out of my own ſphere, in affairs that were foreign to my employments and character, and of which I could be no competent judge? I may have been thought perhaps too active in my proper ſtations and buſineſs: but I was never charged with interpoſing in matters with which I was no ways acquainted, and muſt have appeared ridiculous in pretending to conduct.

Is it not rather probable that ſuch a military ſcheme (if there *were* any ſuch) ſhould have been formed and directed by men of the *ſword*, though they *yet* remain undiſcovered? muſt the whole accuſation and puniſhment, without proof and without probability, center in *me*, whoſe profeſſion and way of life ſets me at the greateſt diſtance from ſuch deſigns,

ſigns, and from the ſuſpicion of being concerned in them?

And yet *I* muſt be the ſacrifice, and ſuffer almoſt all the pains and penalties (ſhort of death) which a Parliament can inflict, for a ſuppoſed ſcheme of war, which I do not to this day comprehend; and for which, as far as it appears, I think the men concerned ſhould be rather pitied as madmen, than puniſhed as traitors.

Here is a plot of a year or two's ſtanding, to ſubvert this government by force of arms. Military preparations are ſaid to have been made for it. There was to be an invaſion from abroad, an inſurrection and rebellion at home. Juſt when it was ripe for execution, it is diſcovered; and, after a twelve-month's ſearch for the contrivers and conductors of this ſcheme, no conſultations appear to have been held, no money to have been raiſed, and (which is ſtranger) no arms, officers, or ſoldiers, to have been provided. Not a man of the army is engaged in it: a poor *Biſhop* has done all, and muſt ſuffer for it.

What could tempt me, my Lords, thus to ſtep out of my way? Was it *ambition*, and a deſire of climbing into an higher ſtation in

the Church? There was not a man of my order further removed from views of this kind than *I* am. I have an hundred times ſaid (and ſincerely reſolved) that I would be nothing *more* than I was (at a time when I little thought of being *leſs*) whatever turns of ſtate ſhould happen; and I could give an inſtance of this kind (if it were proper) that would ſhew, I was in earneſt.

Was *money* my aim? I always deſpiſed it: too much perhaps, conſidering the occaſion I may *now* have for it. Out of a poor Biſhoprick of £. 500. a year (for it has been clearly worth no more to *me*) I did in eight years time lay out £. 2000. upon the houſe and the appurtenances; and becauſe I knew the circumſtances in which my predeceſſor left his family, I took not one ſhilling for dilapidations from his executors. And the reſt of my income has all been ſpent as that of a Biſhop ſhould be ſpent (pardon, my Lords, the freedom of the expreſſion) in hoſpitality and charity. Nor do I repine at that expence even *now*; not queſtioning in the leaſt but that GOD, who has provided for me hitherto, will provide for me ſtill; and on his Providence I ſecurely depend.

Was I influenced by any diſlike of the Eſtabliſhed Religion? any ſecret inclinations towards Popery, a church of greater pomp and power? Malice has ventured even thus far to aſperſe me. My Lords, ever ſince I knew what Popery was, I diſliked it; and the better I knew it, the more I oppoſed it. I began my ſtudies in Divinity (when the Popiſh controverſy grew hot) with the immortal work of Mr. *Chillingworth*, which I have read from that day to this, with new pleaſure, and without ſatiety. He is no *narrow-ſpirited* writer, but the buckler of the *Proteſtant* cauſe in general, and as *ſuch* I eſteemed him *above* all others. You will pardon me, my Lords, if I add (what would come ill from my mouth if I had not reaſon to purge myſelf from theſe fooliſh reflections) that thirty-ſeven years ago* I wrote in the defence of *Martin Luther*, the great champion of the Reformation; and am perhaps the *only divine*, or *member* of this church, that has defended him in a treatiſe expreſsly writ for that purpoſe, from the infancy of the Reformation to this day. And whatever happens to me, my Lords, I will ſuffer any thing, and would (by GOD's grace) burn at a ſtake, rather than, in any material

* It was firſt publiſhed in 1687, and again in 1723.

point, depart from the Proteſtant religion as profeſſed in the Church of England.

Once more, my Lords, can I be ſuſpected as entering into any ſuch deſigns; from any principles I had imbibed; favourable to Arbitrary Power, and deſtructive of Liberty? The whole tenor of my life ſpeaks otherwiſe. I was always a friend to the liberty of the ſubject, and, to the beſt of my power, a conſtant maintainer of it. I may have been miſtaken *perhaps* in the meaſures I took for its ſupport, at junctures when it was thought expedient for the ſtate to *ſeem* to *neglect* public liberty, in order, I ſuppoſe, to ſecure it. But this error (if it were one) was only a miſapplication of the principle which I always ſteadily and unvariably purſued: while I ſaw others, who would be thought the great patrons of liberty, undermining the very foundation of it.

Names may alter; but *things* continue always the ſame. I have not mattered by what *party-term* I was called, ſo my actions were uniform and of a piece.

To return therefore to the point, from which I may ſeem to have digreſſed.

The charge brought againſt me, and in the manner it is brought, is, under all the views we can take of it, *improbable* and *incredible*. If I could be guilty of it, I muſt have acted under a ſpirit of infatuation; and yet I have not been hitherto thought an *idiot* or a *madman*.

My Lords, as to the *pains* and *penalties* contained in this bill, they are great and grievous beyond example to a man in my circumſtances. I find them *no where* but in the act for baniſhing the Earl of Clarendon, nor even *there* in the ſame extent either as to their nature or *duration*. For it is particularly provided by that act, that the *pains* and *penalties* of it ſhould ceaſe, if by a day prefixed the Earl rendered himſelf to juſtice. I am *here*, my Lords, and have been here expecting for *eight* months my *Legal Trial*. Was ever any man, in the ſame caſe, baniſhed by act of parliament? Upon an impeachment by the Houſe of Commons, that noble Earl *fled*; and with reaſon, as the temper of the times then was: however, he *fled*. I have declined no impeachment, no due courſe of law that might have been taken; and yet I am to be *baniſhed*. A correſpondence

dence indeed with that Earl was made *treaſon*; with *me* it is only *felony*: that is, *one* witneſs may prove ſuch a correſpondence with me; had *treaſon* been the conſequence, *two* would have been requiſite. He was allowed an intercourſe with his children by the expreſs words of the act. *Mine* are not ſo much as to write or ſend any meſſage to me without a *ſign manual.*

And what is moſt particular in my caſe (I will ſpeak it *diſtinctly*, that my Right Reverend Brethren may *hear it*), I am rendered, as far as the civil power can render me, incapable of *uſing* or *exerciſing any office, function, authority, or power, eccleſiaſtical or ſpiritual, whatſoever*, not only in any of his Majeſty's dominions (no ſuch limitation is expreſſed), but for aught I can find any where in Chriſtendom; as if I held ſuch *ſpiritual powers*, not from CHRIST himſelf, but by the authority, and at the pleaſure, of an act of parliament.

Why ſhould I dwell on the other parts of my puniſhment, which agree with His? or trouble your Lordſhips with pleas for mitigation? I inſiſt on my *innocence*; my *real*,

as well as *legal* innocence: that I *am not* guilty; and, if I *were*, am not *proved* ſo.

If your Lordſhips thus judge, I am ſure you will quaſh the bill; for you are juſt. If you ſhall judge otherwiſe, yet I perſuade myſelf you will temper it; for you are merciful. You will not ſtrip a man of his ſubſiſtence, and then ſend him where he cannot ſubſiſt. You will not firſt exerciſe ſeverity upon him *yourſelves*, and then hinder *others* from performing any acts of common humanity towards him. You will have the *goodneſs*, at leaſt, not to bar the King from ſhewing *his*, *if* and *when* he ſhall ſee occaſion; nor render his Majeſty to any *one* of his poor ſubjects *leſs* the image of GOD than he is: for *that* reſemblance conſiſts more in *pardoning* than *puniſhing*.

The Great Man I mentioned carried a great *fortune* along with him into a foreign country: he had *languages*, was well acquainted abroad, and ſpent the beſt part of his years in *exile*, and was therefore every way qualified to ſupport it. The reverſe of all this is my fate. Indeed I am like him in nothing, but his *innocence* and his *puniſhment*. It is in *no* man's power to make us differ in the *one*; it

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is in your Lordſhips to diſtinguiſh us *widely* in the *other*; and I hope you will do it.

But to ſum up the argument.

Our Law has taken care, that there ſhould be a more clear and full proof of *treaſon* than of any *other* crime whatſoever. And reaſonable it is, that a crime, attended with the higheſt penalties, ſhould be made out by the cleareſt and fulleſt evidence. And yet here is a charge of high treaſon brought againſt me, not only without *full* evidence, but without any evidence at *all*, i. e. any ſuch evidence as the law of the land knows and allows. And what is not evidence at *law* (pardon me for what I am going to ſay) can never be made ſuch, in order to puniſh what is paſt, but by a violation of the law. For the law, which preſcribes the nature of the *proof* required, is as much the law of the land, as that which declares the *crime*; and *both* muſt join to convict a man of guilt. And it ſeems equally unjuſt to declare any ſort of *proof* legal, which was not ſo before a proſecution commenced for any act done, as it would be to declare the *act* itſelf *ex-poſt-facto* to be *criminal*.

Now there never was a charge of ſo high a nature ſo ſtrongly preſſed, and ſo weakly ſupported—ſupported, not by any living or dead witneſs, ſpeaking from his own knowledge, but by mere hearſays and reports from others; contradicted by the very perſons from whom they are ſaid to be derived—*ſupported* not by any one criminal *deed* proved to have been *done*, not by any one criminal *line* proved to have been either *written* or *received*, not even by any one criminal *word* proved to have been *ſpoken* by me; but by intercepted letters in a correſpondence, to which it *appears* not that *I was*, and to which it is *certain* that I *was not* privy; ſome of theſe letters ſhewn to have been contrived with a deſign of faſtening them upon me, as a foundation of the ſcheme which was to follow; others, written with the ſame view, employing the ſame fictitious names, and throwing out dark and ſuſpicious hints, concerning the perſons meant by thoſe names, and endeavouring by little facts and circumſtances, ſometimes *true*, ſometimes *doubtful*, and often *falſe*, to point out that perſon to ſuch as ſhould intercept thoſe letters, who continues all this time a ſtranger to the whole tranſaction,

action, and never *makes* the diſcovery till he *feels* it, and finds it advanced into a ſolemn accuſation; till the *peſtilence that walked in darkneſs*, becomes *the arrow that flyeth by noon-day.*

[* This, my Lords, is a true account of thoſe proofs by which the charge of high treaſon againſt me is maintained. And if ſuch proofs, in ſuch a caſe, be admitted, what man is ſafe? who is there that theſe decypherers and copyers may not have in their power? who that may not, at this rate, by two perſons, placed one at Paris, and the other at London, and informing themſelves of his motions and circumſtances, be writ *into* a plot, and *out* of his fortunes, liberty, honour, and life *itſelf*; and be all the while innocent, and ignorant of what is doing?]

My Lords, this is my caſe; I have *ſhewed* it ſo to be; though I had the hard taſk upon me of *proving a negative*, and had no other lights to guide me but thoſe the Report affords. And ſhall I ſtand convicted before your Lordſhips upon ſuch *an evidence as this?*

* This paragraph is croſſed over in the Biſhop's copy.

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by the hearſay of an hearſay (for this often is the caſe), and that denied by the very perſon into whoſe teſtimony all muſt be reſolved; by ſtrained reaſonings and inferences, from obſcure paſſages, and fictitious names in letters, the contents of which were entirely a ſecret to me, till I ſaw them in print: by the conjectures of decypherers, without any opportunity given me (though I humbly aſked it) to examine into the truth of their explications; by the depoſitions of poſt-office clerks about the ſimilitude of hands, ſome of which have been formerly known to be the moſt dextrous counterfeiters of them; and theſe depoſitions made at many months diſtance from the time of their ſeeing the firſt letters, and without comparing any one of the originals they copied with another; by little ſurmiſes and *probabilities*, built on a falſe bottom, and which (that foundation being ſhaken) muſt appear altogether *improbable*; by attempts to render me *ſuſpected of ſuſpicion of treaſon*, for nothing more, I am perſuaded, can be made of the arguments drawn from what is called the *intercepted correſpondence?*

Shall

Shall I, my Lords, be deprived of all that is valuable to an Engliſhman (for in the circumſtances to which I am to be reduced *life* itſelf is ſcarce valuable) by *ſuch an evidence as this!* ſuch an evidence as would not be admitted in any other cauſe, in any other court; nor allowed, I verily believe, to condemn a Jew in the Inquiſitions of Spain or Portugal; ſhall it be received againſt *me*, a Biſhop of this Church, and a Member of this Houſe, in a charge of high treaſon brought in the High Court of Parliament? GOD *forbid!*

Suffer me, my Lords, (I know you will ſuffer me) to put you *all* (and particularly my Right Reverend *brethren*) in mind of a text of Holy Writ: *Againſt an Elder* receive not *an accuſation*, but *before two or three witneſſes*. It is not ſaid, Condemn him not upon an unſupported accuſation; but, *receive it not*, give it no countenance, or encouragement. And I am ſomewhat *more than* an *Elder* as the word there imports. Shall an accuſation be *received* againſt *me*, without any *one witneſs* to maintain it! My Lords, this is not a direction merely for eccleſiaſtical judicatories; it was taken by St. Paul from the civil and judicial part of the law of Moſes.

For there we read, *One witneſs ſhall not riſe up againſt a man for any iniquity, or any ſin that he ſinneth: at the mouth of two witneſſes, or at the mouth of three witneſſes, ſhall the matter be eſtabliſhed.* And as this rule was tranſplanted from the *ſtate* into the *church* by an inſpired authority; ſo would it be no blemiſh to any *Chriſtian ſtate*, if they always thought fit to follow it in ſuch caſes as this now before your Lordſhips. The laws of this Chriſtian ſtate *have* actually followed it, and made two witneſſes neceſſary in accuſations of treaſon. Shall I be the firſt Biſhop of this Church proſecuted and condemned upon two or three *hearſays*, two or three *conjectures* about *names*, and obſcure paſſages in letters, inſtead of two or three witneſſes? and will *they* who are moſt concerned to *reſiſt* this precedent, contribute to *make* it, and to derive the ſad influence of it to all ſucceeding times; and even concur in *ſuch* an act, on *ſuch* an *evidence*, to render me incapable of *uſing* or *exerciſing any office, function, authority*, or *power eccleſiaſtical or ſpiritual whatſoever?* Is this either good *divinity* or good *policy? I ſpeak as to wiſe men, judge ye what I ſay,*

Doubtleſs

Doubtleſs the Legiſlature is without bounds. It may do what it pleaſes; and whatever it does is binding. Nay, in ſome reſpects, it has greater power (with reverence be, it ſpoken) than the Sovereign Legiſlator of the Univerſe: for *He can* do nothing *unjuſtly!* But though no limits can be ſet to Parliaments, yet they have generally thought fit to preſcribe limits to themſelves; and ſo to guide even their proceedings by bill in criminal caſes, as to depart as little as is poſſible from the known laws and uſages of the realm. The Parliament may, if it pleaſes, by a particular act, order a criminal to be tortured who will not confeſs; for who ſhall gainſay them? But they never did it; nor, I preſume, ever will; becauſe torture, though practiſed in *other* countries, is unknown in *ours*, and repugnant to the temper and genius of our mild and free government: and yet, my Lords, it looks, methinks, ſomewhat *like* torture, to inflict grievous pains and penalties on a perſon only *ſuſpected* of guilt, but not legally *proved* guilty, in order to extort ſome confeſſion or diſcovery from him. This, in other countries, is called putting

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to the queſtion; and it matters not much by what engines or method ſuch an experiment is made.

The Parliament may (if it pleaſes) by an expreſs law, adjudge a man to abſolute perpetual impriſonment, as well as to perpetual exile; without reſerving to the Crown any power of determining ſuch impriſonment. They have enacted the one; I find not they *ever enacted* the other. And the reaſon ſeems to have been, becauſe our law, which above all others provides for the liberty of the ſubject's *perſon*, knows nothing of ſuch abſolute perpetual impriſonment.

The Parliament may in like manner condemn a man upon a charge of *accumulative and conſtructive* treaſon. They did ſo once, in the caſe of the Earl of Strafford; but they repented of it afterwards, and ordered *all the records and proceedings of parliament relating thereto* to be wholly *cancelled*, *defaced*, and *obliterated*, *to the intent the ſame might not be viſible in after-ages*, or *brought into example to the prejudice of any perſon whatſoever*. My Lords, it was the fate of that great perſon thus to fall by *accumulative* and *conſtructive treaſon*. A much leſs now ſtands before you, who

who is attacked by *accumulative* and *conſtructive proofs* of his guilt: that is, by ſuch proofs as in themſelves, and when taken ſingle and apart, are allowed to prove nothing; but when taken together, and well interpreted and explained, are ſaid to give mutual light and ſtrength to each other, and by the help of certain inferences and deduction to have the *force*, though not the *formality*, of legal evidence. Will ſuch proofs be ever admitted by your Lordſhips, in order to deprive a fellow-ſubject of his fortunes, his fame, his friends, and his country, and ſend him in his old age, without language, without limbs, without health, and without a proviſion for the neceſſaries of life, to live, or rather *ſtarve*, amongſt foreigners? I ſay again, GOD *forbid!*

My ruin is not of that moment to any man, or any *number* of men, as to make it worth their while to violate (or even *ſeem* to violate) the conſtitution in any degree to procure it. In preſerving and guarding *that* againſt all attempts, the ſafety and the happineſs of every Engliſhman lies. But when once, by ſuch extraordinary ſteps as theſe, we depart from the fixed rules and forms of juſtice, and try

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untrodden paths, no man knows *whither* they will lead him, or *where* he ſhall be able to ſtop, when *preſſed* by the crowd that follow him.

Though *I* am worthy of no regard; though whatever is done to *me* may be looked upon as *juſt*; yet your Lordſhips will have ſome regard to your own laſting intereſts, and thoſe of the ſtate; and not introduce into criminal caſes a ſort of evidence with which our conſtitution is not acquainted, and which, under the appearance of ſupporting it, at firſt, may be afterwards made uſe of (I ſpeak my honeſt fears) gradually to undermine and deſtroy it.

For GOD's ſake, my Lords, lay aſide theſe extraordinary proceedings! ſet not theſe new and dangerous precedents! And I for my part will voluntarily and chearfully go into perpetual exile, and pleaſe myſelf with the thought that I have in ſome meaſure preſerved the conſtitution by quitting my country: and I will live, wherever I am, praying for its proſperity, and die with the words of Father Paul in my mouth, which he uſed of the Republic of Venice, "Eſto perpetua!" The way to perpetuate it is, not to depart from it.

Let

Let *me* depart; but let *that* continue fixed on the immovable foundations of law and juſtice, and ſtand for ever.

I have, my Lords, taken up much of your time; and yet I muſt ſtill beg your attention. Some parts of my accuſation have been diſproved by direct and full evidence; particularly that of my writing the *three* letters of April 20, or even knowing *who* writ them; which I utterly deny that I ever *did*, or even now *do* know. And yet *this* is the *foundation* of the whole. *Other* parts of my charge there are, not in their nature capable of ſuch a direct diſproof, nor indeed requiring it, as being no ways ſupported by what deſerves the name of evidence. And here therefore I was chiefly obliged to reſt on the utter *improbability* of the charge; which, I hope, has been duly manifeſted. But, my Lords, there is ſtill a way left of vindicating myſelf in caſes where a general negative cannot be otherwiſe cleared; and that is, by *proteſting* and *declaring* my innocence to your Lordſhips in the moſt deliberate, ſerious, and ſolemn manner, and appealing to GOD, the ſearcher of hearts, for the truth of what I ſay; as I do in what follows.

I am charged, in the Report, with directing the intercepted correſpondence, there aſcribed to Mr. Kelly and Mr. Carte. But I ſolemnly declare, that I never directed or ſaw a ſingle line of any one of their letters, till I met them in print; nor were the contents of any one of them ever communicated to me.

I do in like manner ſolemnly declare, that I never was privy to any memorial drawn up to ſolicit the Regent of France, or his Miniſters, to ſend forces into England, during the elections, or at any other ſeaſon: which is the *firſt* branch of the conſpiracy charged in the Report.

Nor was I ever acquainted with the deſign of any attempt to be made, upon the King's going to Hanover: which is the *ſecond.*

Nor did I ever hear of the *third*; which, it ſeems, was to take place upon the breaking up of the encampment, till ſome time after Mr. *Layer* was committed to the Tower.

I do with the like ſerioufneſs and ſolemnity declare, That I never *collected*, *remitted*, *received*, or *aſked* any money of any man, to facilitate any of theſe deſigns; nor was I ever

privy

privy to any *remittance* whatſoever to *any* of theſe purpoſes.

That I never tranſmitted or drew any declaration, manifeſto, or paper whatſoever, in the name of the Pretender, as is intimated in the Report, (p. 46.) and was directly charged upon me at my *examination*.

And that I never knew of any preparations, commiſſions iſſued, any proviſions here made of arms, officers, or ſoldiers, or of any methods taken to procure an *inſurrection* in any part of theſe kingdoms.

All this, upon the faith of a Chriſtian, I declare to be true, and will ſo declare to the laſt gaſp of my breath: and I am very ſure that, the farther your Lordſhips examine into the truth of theſe declarations, the truer you will find them. And yet they contain all the capital articles of which I am accuſed by the Report of the Houſe of Commons.

Had indeed the charge been as fully proved as it is ſtrongly aſſerted, it had been in vain to think of encountering *well-atteſted facts* by *proteſtations* to the contrary, though never ſo ſolemnly made. But, as that charge is enforced by ſlights and probabilities, and cannot be diſproved in many circumſtances with-

out proving a negative, your Lordſhips will, in ſuch a caſe, allow the ſolemn aſſeverations of a man, in behalf of his own innocence, to have their due weight. And I aſk no more of GOD than to grant them as much influence with you as they have truth in themſelves.

If, after all, it ſhall be ſtill thought by your Lordſhips, that there is any ſeeming ſtrength in any of the proofs produced againſt me; if by *private* perſuaſions of my guilt, founded on unſeen, unknown motives, which ought not certainly to influence *public* judgements; if by any *reaſons* and *neceſſities* of ſtate (of the *expedience*, *wiſdom*, and *juſtice* of which I am no competent judge) your Lordſhips ſhall be induced to proceed on this bill, and to paſs it in *any* ſhape; I ſhall diſpoſe myſelf quietly and patiently to ſubmit to what is determined. *God's will be done! Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked ſhall I return thither*; *the Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away*; *and* (whether in giving or taking) *bleſſed be the name of the Lord!*

SER-

SERJEANT WYNNE'S OBSERVATIONS* ON THE CATALOGUE OF ROYAL AND NOBLE AUTHORS.

Vol. II. p. 133.

I HAVE lately ſeen a paſſage in the above book reflecting on Serjeant Wynne, as if "he had deſired to ſee the ſpeech of his right "reverend client, and had, as it were, fore-"ſtalled him, and ſpoke the ſubſtance of it "himſelf;" and to make it the more remarkable, the author has given him a title, which it is well known he did not attain to till many years after. And this is aſſerted, not

* Theſe Obſervations were written not long after the publication of the Catalogue, a friend informing the author of them that there was ſuch a paſſage reflecting on him; and it was not without ſolicitations that he was induced to think it worth an anſwer; which, however, he drew up in this form, and permitted to be printed in a periodical examination of books and pamphlets. The ſame paſſage being repeated in a ſecond edition of the Catalogue, was the occaſion of re-printing theſe obſervations. WYNNE.

upon hearſay or information, but as a fact; which the reader may be apt to think lay in the author's own knowledge, or at leaſt grounded upon the beſt information at the time; whereas this proceeding was thirty-ſix years ago, when the author had been hardly out of his nurſery. In ſpeaking of facts ſo long before their own knowledge, modeſt writers uſually quote their authority, or aſſign ſome reaſons for their aſſertions.

However, as ſilence may, in ſome caſes, be conſtrued an admiſſion of a fact, it may be proper to ſay ſomething by way of anſwer; though Mr. Wynne deſpiſes the calumny, and thinks a mere denial of a fact is equivalent to a mere affirmation without any proof or probability.

The paſſage above referred to ſeems to imply an uncommon memory, and ſome degree of judgement, in Mr. Wynne (young as he then was, though I dare ſay the author intended no compliments) that on the bare ſeeing or reading a ſpeech which took up two hours or more in the delivery, he ſhould be able to borrow the ſubſtance of it, and make uſe of it as his own; which ſeems highly improbable.

And

And that he ſhould preſume to do ſo in the preſence of ſuch a judicious client, and upon his firſt appearance at the bar of that honourable houſe, is ſtill more improbable, and implies an uncommon aſſurance; a quality, that was never reckoned any part of his character; but, on the contrary, how well it was received by that honourable houſe, how gratefully by his reverend client, he has great reaſon to remember.

And whoever fairly conſiders the nature of the caſe, the different ſituation of a counſel from that of the perſon accuſed, if he is a judge, and judges rightly, muſt own, that it requires a different compoſition, a different expreſſion, and a different manner of treating the ſubject. Many things may be proper, and not unbecoming for the one to ſay, either as he was a prelate and a member of that houſe, or as a ſuppoſed criminal, which would be highly improper, and perhaps not ſafe, in the other to ſay. The one was thoroughly acquainted with the facts, and conſequently could explain, aſſert, or deny, with more freedom and aſſurance: whereas the other was a ſtranger to them, any otherwiſe than as inſtructed by his brief, and

ought therefore to ſpeak with caution and care, eſpecially on ſuch an high and complicated charge as that was; and where Mr. Wynne was in a manner little known to, or acquainted with his client, till juſt before he had the honour to be aſſigned one of his counſel.

It is not improbable that, where any two, three, or more perſons ſpeak upon the ſame ſubject, and upon ſuch a multitude of facts of which the charge conſiſted, that ſome of the ſame arguments or obſervations may occur to each, though without any privity or conference together. But I am apt to think, no one perſon, who was to prepare himſelf upon ſuch an occaſion, would deſire to ſee or read the compoſition of another, who was to ſpeak upon the ſame occaſion, and perhaps on the ſame day, or the next, and before the ſame judicious audience; as it would rather tend to diſtract and confound him, than be of any real uſe, and only ſerve to tire his judges with unneceſſary repetition.

Indeed, I have heard that the Biſhop deſired to know of his counſel, at one of their conſultations, whether, in treating of hearſay evidence, they ſhould mention the preamble

of

of Sir John Fenwick's bill of attainder; and Mr. Wynne informing his Lordſhip the paſſage had occurred to him, and in what manner he intended to apply it, the Biſhop deſired him to leave out what he intended upon that point, for that he ſhould carry his reaſoning upon it much further; and that it would moreover be of great ſervice, in giving him an opportunity to ſit down and repoſe his wearied limbs while the act was read, in which he hoped their Lordſhips would indulge him. Mr. Wynne accordingly left this paſſage entire to his Lordſhip; and he made all the uſe intended of it.

And ſince the ſight of the book above referred to, I have heard * Mr. Wynne often declare (and I dare ſay, from his known probity and veracity, he would make oath, if the occaſion required it) that he never did ſee, or deſired to ſee, his Lordſhip's ſpeech; nor ever read one line of it himſelf, nor ever heard one line of it read by any other perſon before it was ſpoke in the Houſe of Lords. Nor has he to this day ever ſeen or read one line of it: though there is reaſon to believe his Lordſhip's ſpeech is ſtill in being,

* Theſe Obſervations were firſt publiſhed anonymouſly.

with an introductory account of the true grounds and motives of his profecution; and, if they could be compared, would be found as different as could be upon the ſame ſubject.

As for his Lordſhip's ſpeech, ſo called, printed by A. Moore, at that time, it is a ſpurious incorrect compoſition, and does not contain above half in quantity; and, beſides many nonſenſical and unintelligible paragraphs, has hardly one true and correct paſſage throughout*. But if even [illegible] were to be compared, no other likeneſs would be found than what neceſſarily ariſes from a reference to the ſame facts, papers, and letters. And, I am ſure, where it occaſionally mentions his counſel, it is with all due regard, and not the leaſt complaint of any unfair or unbecoming behaviour of them †.

And it is well known Mr. Wynne never was alone with the Biſhop during his commitment; and when ſent for, was either in company with Sir Conſtantine Phipps, his other counſel, and with one or both his ſoli-

* This aſſertion had eſcaped my notice when I was printing the note in p. 105; of which, however, it is an ample confirmation.

† See pp. 106. 126. 131.

citors,

citors, who were aſſigned to aſſiſt him in his defence, and one or more of his ſervants; and therefore ſome other perſon muſt have been privy to this fact, if it were true; beſides others who narrowly watched and probably overheard moſt things that paſſed in thoſe ſhort interviews.

And, therefore, what could induce the author to vent ſuch a calumny upon one who is a mere ſtranger to him, and about a tranſaction thirty-ſix years ago, in which he acted only a ſubordinate part, without any ground or foundation, and againſt all probability, it is hard to conceive. But it is hoped, the author will be ſo ingenuous as either to retract his aſſertion, or aſſign his reaſons, or explain his meaning, in any future edition of his work, or in any other way he thinks more proper.

I was going to cloſe theſe Obſervations; but as the author has thought fit to introduce the foregoing paſſage in his anecdote of an unfortunate Duke*, I am apt to think he

* The paſſage alluded to in the Catalogue is this: "It is a remarkable anecdote relating to this ſpeech, "that his Grace then in oppoſition to the Court "went to Chelſea the day before the laſt debate "on that prelate's affair, where, acting contrition, "he

he is in that reſpect alſo miſtaken or miſ-informed. I would not be underſtood to defend his levities, or want of principles (as the author calls them); but, happening to know the company his Lordſhip had with him almoſt every hour of that day before he ſpoke in the Houſe of Lords, and to whom he was pleaſed to ſhew his ſpeech ready drawn up, all in his own hand-writing, whom he preſſed to peruſe it, and during that converſation his

" he profeſſed being determined to work out his " pardon at court, by ſpeaking againſt the Biſhop, " in order to which he begged ſome hints. The " miniſter was deceived, and went through the " whole cauſe with him, pointing out where the " ſtrength of the argument lay, and where its " weakneſs. The Duke was very thankful, re- " turned to town, paſſed the night in drinking, " and without going to bed went into the Houſe of " Lords, where he ſpoke for the Biſhop, recapi- " tulating, in the moſt maſterly manner, and an- " ſwering all that had been urged againſt him."— So far the Catalogue: and then, on a ſuppoſed reſemblance to this ſuppoſed fact, is grounded a note, contradicting the idle aſperſion, which is the ſubject of the above Obſervations: which note runs in theſe words: " Serjeant Wynne ſerved " the Biſhop in much the ſame manner: being his " counſel, he deſired to ſee the Biſhop's ſpeech; " and then ſpoke the ſubſtance of it himſelf."

WYNNE.

Grace

Grace altered and ſupplied it as he thought proper upon the ſpot, and I believe is the ſame in ſubſtance as that which ſoon after appeared in print; and, notwithſtanding the author's inſinuation, I believe I can truly add, that he hardly ever paſſed a day or evening more ſoberly than that; and happy it would have been had he paſſed more in the ſame manner*.

So

* Biſhop Newton's account of this tranſaction has been already copied in p. 83. Dr. Maty alſo, in his Life of Lord Cheſterfield, has tranſcribed from Mr. Walpole "a fact, of which," as he well obſerves, "the ingenious author had the beſt opportunity of being well informed;" and, enumerating the great characters in which the upper houſe of parliament was then fertile, ſays, "The unprincipled and unthinking Duke of Wharton diſgraced the fineſt parts and beſt education by the bad uſe he made of both; and, with the capacity of a Tully, became, like Clodius, a profligate and wretched incendiary."

The various modes and times in which I have met with the ſeveral articles which form the preſent volumes will be a ſufficient apology to the conſiderate reader for their arrangement. Some of the notes particularly, if I was to reprint the whole, would be differently placed: the circumſtance of the Bible given to Pope, for inſtance, in the preſent volume, p. 80, had been already given in the firſt volume, p. 143; and Atterbury's aſſertion, in the beginning of p. 161, might have received

ſome

So that this was not a ſudden ſtart upon conference that day or night with the Miniſter, under a feigned contrition, to draw hints from him, which he did not want; for, it is well known, his Grace had, from the beginning to the end of that long proceeding, conſtantly attended, and took notes, amounting at leaſt to a quire of paper, and not only ſpoke on behalf of the Biſhop in the run of the cauſe, but had ſigned ſeveral proteſts concerning thoſe proceedings many days before. If the Miniſter after this was deceived, he was eaſily deceived, and

ſome illuſtration from the notes printed in vol. I. p. 131. and in vol. II. p. 44; and both from the following anecdote, tranſcribed by Dr. Maty from the papers of Dr. Birch: "Lord Harcourt leaving "the old miniſtry, provoked Atterbury's abuſive "tongue. He, in return, declared, that, on the "Queen's death, the Biſhop came to him and to "Lord Bolingbroke, and ſaid, nothing remained "but to proclaim K. J. He further offered, if "they would give him a guard, to put on his "lawn ſleeves, and head the proceſſion."

The preſent Editor by no means wiſhes that theſe Extracts may obtain more credit than they deſerve, when oppoſed to the ſolemn aſſertions of the great Prelate who is the ſubject of them. He muſt obſerve, however, that, if he had not produced them, the reader would have been juſtified in blaming him for ſuppreſſing material evidence. Let the impartial judgement of poſterity determine which is right.

contrary to his known and uſual ſagacity, and in a manner very notorious to moſt others.

This does not reſt merely upon my aſſertion (though I was preſent every day, and therefore no incompetent witneſs), but might appeal to others ſtill alive, and to the Journals themſelves, as well as to the printed proteſts (in folio and octavo) where his Grace's name is to be found among other noble Lords, on May 2, 1723; and on the 3d, 7th, and 11th of May. And at laſt, on the general queſtion whether the bill ſhould paſs (15th of May) after he had ſpoke at large upon the debate, he not only proteſted again, for ſome of the reaſons given by the other Lords, but added four more of his own. So that there ſeems to be no room to doubt but that his Lordſhip was all along as much prepared, fixed, and determined, upon this matter, as any one could be. Whether he was right or wrong in his judgement, I do not preſume to ſay.

It is not improbable but he might go to the Miniſter at ſome other time, as he did once or twice dine uninvited at the Board of Green-

Green-cloth that was kept in the neighbourhood during that proceeding, by way of frolick or fun, or, as the author calls it, a fit of levity; but not by way of information or inſtruction, or to beg hints, becauſe he was ſufficiently maſter of the whole proceeding, from his own notes and obſervations. However, he is gone, and unable to anſwer for himſelf; and therefore I thought this little was in juſtice due to his memory.

THE

THE DEDICATION

TO THE SECOND EDITION OF

The RIGHTS, POWERS, and PRIVILEGES, of an ENGLISH CONVOCATION, 1701 *.

To the moſt Reverend Fathers in GOD, my Lords the Archbiſhops of the Provinces, and Preſidents of the Convocations, of CANTERBURY and YORK.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACES,

TO permit the author of theſe papers to lay them before you with that humility which becomes his great diſtance from your Graces' high ſtation and character, and that modeſt freedom which he is encouraged to uſe by the goodneſs of his cauſe, and the conſciouſneſs he has of his own integrity in maintaining it.

When I firſt ſent theſe papers abroad, I judged that doctrines of ſo great weight and importance, as thoſe which are contained in them, might ſuffer by the meanneſs of my

* In this book Mr. Atterbury diſplayed ſo much learning and ingenuity, as well as zeal for the intereſts of his order, that the Lower Houſe of Convocation returned him their thanks, "for his "endeavours to aſſert and vindicate the rights of "Convocation."

name, and therefore I concealed it. But ſince it has pleaſed the Divine Goodneſs to bleſs theſe labours of mine with a very favourable reception, not only among the Reverend my Brethren of the Clergy, and ſeveral of the Right Reverend Fathers of the Church, your Graces' Suffragans, but among many other good and wiſe men alſo, who are not of the function: and ſince, upon a careful review of what I have written, no ſhadow of doubt remains with me but that it is truth, and will ſtand; I have thought myſelf at liberty to act with leſs reſerves, and to hearken to the admonition which my Lord of Sarum * has publickly given me in that behalf.

And when once I had determined to own myſelf the author of this work, it was natural for me to think of addreſſing it to your Graces, who are under his Majeſty (long may you continue ſo!) the great patrons and guardians of the rights of the Clergy of either

* Dr. Burnet; who publiſhed "Reflections on "the Rights, &c. 1700." It is remarkable that the names of Wake, Burnet, Gibſon, Hoadly, and Nicolſon, were amongſt the antagoniſts of this celebrated production of Atterbury. The characters of our author, as drawn by Kennet, Wake, and Burnet, which are particularly worth peruſing, are tranſcribed in the Biographia Britannica, p. 336, 337. where the reader will find a ſatisfactory account of the whole controverſy.

Pro-

Province; and who have particularly enabled me to perfect this review by the free recourſe you have been pleaſed to allow me to the Regiſtries of your Sees. So that this is an application to which gratitude as well as duty binds me; two powerful principles of action, for the want of either of which your Graces ſhall never have occaſion to blame me!

I have ventured upon this addreſs the more freely, becauſe Dr. Wake, I find, has preſumed to take the ſame liberty, with leſs reaſon; and prefixed one of your venerable names to a book, that, as I verily apprehend, ſubverts the fundamental rights and liberties of the Church and Clergy of England. After which, had I, in this reply, made my application any where but to your Graces, I might juſtly have been thought to decline your Graces' arbitration; which, in a defence of Church-rights, drawn up by one in holy orders, had been highly indecent and unpardonable.

I do heartily therefore join with Dr. Wake, in appealing to your Graces' judgement, in the diſpute that is now between us. If, in my management of it, there be any thing particular and perſonal which will offend your Graces, I beſeech your Graces, with a pater-

nal goodneſs, to overlook it: but wherever the argument and merits of the cauſe are concerned, I implore your Graces' ſtricteſt obſervation.

Should it, upon balancing the evidence produced on both ſides, ſeem to your Graces that I have miſrepreſented the eccleſiaſtical conſtitution, and advanced a falſe and illegal plea, I refuſe not to ſubmit to (what I ſhould think my great misfortune) your Graces' diſpleaſure. But if, on the contrary, your Graces ſhall find (as I doubt not but you will) that I have aſſerted the Rights of the Clergy, within that circle only which the Law has marked out to them; and that I have done this, upon principles which every good Engliſhman muſt approve; and with ſuch a moderation and deference to the civil power as can diſguſt none of the temporalty, but the profeſſed enemies of religion and the order: If this, upon enquiry, ſhall appear to be the caſe, I will then humbly hope for your Graces' protection and countenance in ſo honourable and juſt a cauſe; at leaſt, that, for the ſake of it, you will be pleaſed to pardon the preſumption of this addreſs, from,

Your Graces' moſt obedient, moſt dutiful, and moſt humble ſervant,

FR. ATTERBURY.

THE

THE FORM OF RETRACTATION,

Required from Dr. ATTERBURY, previous to his Inſtitution at CARLISLE;

With a Narrative of what paſſed on that occaſion between the DEAN and Biſhop NICOLSON.

[Now firſt printed from the Harleian MSS. 6848. p. 181.]

WHEN Dr. Atterbury came to his Gra[ce] of York's* at Biſhopthorp, near Yor[k] in his way to Carliſle †, he there found a for[m] (a)

* Dr. John Sharp.

† The following curious note from the B[io]graphia Britannica, which I re-print that the re[ader] may compare it with the preſent narrative, aſſ[igns] a very incredible reaſon for the delay of inſtitut[ion] Bp. Nicolſon, it ſhould be recollected, was h[imſelf] a writer againſt Dr. Atterbury.

" Upon his nomination, either through ig[no]" rance of the common forms, or an over-haſt[e]" to get poſſeſſion, he took out his inſtrum[ent]" before his predeceſſor Dr. Grahme had reſigne[d]" This miſtake he endeavoured to rectify in [the]" following extraordinary manner. When he [had]

‡ Dr. Grahme was inſtalled Dean of Wells July 2[8], 170[5]. Dr. Atterbury did not receive inſtitution as Dean of Carl[iſle] October.

of Retractation, which the Biſhop of Carliſle required he ſhould make before his Lordſhip would

" waited on Dr. Nicolſon, then Biſhop of Carliſle, " that Prelate demanded of him a formal reſigna- " tion from Dr. Grahme, without which, he told " him, he could not admit him. The new-ap- " pointed Dean ſeemed to laugh at this demand; " but the Biſhop, who reſolved to ſhew Dr. Atter- " bury no favour, and barely to do him juſtice, " continuing obſtinate, the Doctor, to his no ſmall " mortification, was kept a whole month at Car- " liſle, unadmitted, and ſlightly regarded, till the " reſignation, inſiſted on, was produced. The re- " ſignation, however, upon examination, was " found to have a flaw in it; the date of it being " almoſt a month ſubſequent to Dr. Atterbury's " collation, which rendered the latter null and " void. Hereupon being returned to London, he " contrived to invite the Dean of Wells, his pre- " deceſſor, to a certain place; where he deſired " him to antedate his reſignation; and, inſtead of " the 5th of Auguſt, to date it the 8th of July, " that ſo it might be reconciled to his letters pa- " tent of collation. The Dean of Wells, who " thought the propoſal a very odd one, deſired a " day's time to conſider of it; and, having adviſed " with his friends, and an eminent Civilian, who " all aſſured him, the practice was both ſcanda- " lous and dangerous, he ſent a civil letter to Dr. " Atterbury, excuſing himſelf for not complying " with his requeſt. When the Doctor found this " ſtep ineffectual, he took another no leſs extra- " ordinary; for a friend of his endeavoured to " prevail with a conſiderable officer in Chancery

" to

would give him inſtitution to the Deanry.—The form ran thus:

"1. The Queen of England, out of Par-
"liament, has not the ſame authority
"in the cauſes eccleſiaſtical that the
"Chriſtian Emperors had in the primi-
"tive Church.

"2. The Church of England is under two
"Sovereigns; the one abſolute, the
"other limited.

"3. The ſupreme eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction
"annexed to the Imperial Crown of this
"Realm can be exerted no otherwiſe
"than in Parliament.

"Theſe three propoſitions, ſeparating her "Majeſty's authority, and impeaching her "legal ſupremacy, are erroneous, and con-

"to alter the date of the reſignation in the origi-
"nal record. But this propoſal was likewiſe re-
"jected; and ſo the public inſtruments continued
"irregular. All the reflection we ſhall make upon
"this ſtory, is, that, in the Civil Law, the clan-
"deſtine alteration of dates is *Crimen Falſi*, and
"the bare attempt to do it *Subornatio Falſi*." See a ſmall tract, intituled, "A Letter from the South,
"by way of Anſwer to a Letter from a Northern
"Divine; giving an Account of a ſtrange At-
"tempt made by Dr. Atterbury, &c."

" trary to the received doctrine of the Church
" of England, as well as the known laws of
" the realm. And therefore (ſo far as any
" of them are deducible from any thing that
" I have heretofore aſſerted and publiſhed) I
" do heartily, openly, and freely, revoke
" and renounce the ſame."

This form of retractation was ſent by the Biſhop to the Archbiſhop the day before Dr. Atterbury came to his Grace; and the Biſhop deſired his Grace, that if Dr. Atterbury conſented not to make that retractation, he would ſtop him there, and give him inſtitution by his metropolitic authority. That could not be done without a ſignification of his deſire under the epiſcopal ſeal (if it could be done at all); which, therefore, the Archbiſhop and Dean wrote for. Seven days after the Dean came to the Archbiſhop's, he received the Biſhop's anſwer, that he would give a commiſſion under his ſeal to nobody, for doing any thing which he would not and could not do himſelf; and therefore the Doctor muſt come to him. The Dean ſet out accordingly as ſoon as was poſſible. When he came to Roſe, the Biſhop's ſeat, the Biſhop produced the

the three propoſitions; and required the Dean that he would retract them: but, upon the Dean aſking his Lordſhip whether he inſiſted on it; he ſaid, No. And the Dean afterwards found that the Archbiſhop's opinion had prevailed with the Biſhop to withdraw them; his Grace having freely and fully told him, in more letters than one, that the firſt was a true propoſition, and the other two not to be found in Dr. Atterbury's book according to that ſenſe and turn which the Biſhop had given them. But the Biſhop had prepared another paper; and that he produced before the Canons of the Church then called together, and required the Dean to ſubſcribe it. That paper was in this form:

"The Church of England is under the "Government both of the abſolute and "limited Sovereign; under the govern- "ment of the limited Sovereign, within "the compaſs of his prerogative; under "the government of the abſolute Sove- "reign, without any reſtraints or bounds, "except what the revealed will of GOD "and the eternal rules of right reaſon "preſcribe. The Pope uſurped, not "only

" only on the King, the limited; but on
" the King and Parliament, the abſo-
" lute Sovereign; and what was to be
" taken from Him, therefore, was not all
" to be thrown into the Prerogative, but
" reſtored ſeverally to its reſpective
" owners*."

" I do hereby openly and freely revoke
" and renounce whatever in this para-
" graph may reaſonably ſeem to impeach
" her Majeſty's regal ſupremacy, in-
" herent in her royal perſon, or any
" ways neceſſary to infer a co-ordina-
" tion with her in the Sovereignty of
" this realm."

The Dean told the Biſhop, that what he propoſed to him was a matter of conſequence and importance, and deſired a little time to retire and conſider of it; which was allowed him, with pen, ink, and paper. About half an hour after, the Dean returned with the following anſwer: " Your Lordſhip demands
" of me, that, in order to my inſtitution to
" the Deanry of Carliſle, I ſhould make the

* Vide Rights and Powers, &c. 2d edition, p. 214.

" preceding retractation. In anſwer to your " Lordſhip's demand, I humbly reply,

" 1. I offer to qualify myſelf for inſtitution, " by taking all thoſe oaths, and making " all thoſe ſubſcriptions or declarations, " which are required by any law or " canon of the real Church of England.

" 2. That, in the paſſage cited by your Lord- " ſhip, I do not, after a very deliberate " conſideration of it, find any thing " aſſerted, upon which a fair and candid " conſtruction of the words *can reaſon-* " *ably ſeem to impeach her Majeſty's regal* " *ſupremacy inherent in her Royal perſon,* " *or any way neceſſarily to infer a co-ordi-* " *nation with her in the Sovereignty of* " *this realm.*

" 3. No man living can be more ready than " I am to aſſert her Majeſty's ſupremacy, " in the utmoſt legal extent of it, upon " all proper occaſions, or to retract any " thing that may have caſually fallen " from my pen, and may in the leaſt ſeem " to be derogatory to it. But to do this in " order to obtain poſſeſſion of the Dean-

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" ry of Carliſle, which her Majeſty has
" granted me under the broad ſeal of
" England, and after a manner no ways
" that I know of preſcribed either by
" the canons or laws of Church or State,
" would, I apprehend, on my ſide, be
" rather injurious than reſpectful to
" her Majeſty's regal ſupremacy and pre-
" rogative, inaſmuch as it tends to in-
" troduce and eſtabliſh new teſts and
" qualifications unknown to our conſti-
" tution, and which may in future
" times be required of all thoſe who
" ſhall have like grants from the Crown
" of this or any other Deanry. And
" therefore the ſureſt mark of my re-
" gard for the Queen's regal ſupremacy
" will, I preſume, be humbly, as I now
" do, to deſire your Lordſhip, that you
" would, in virtue of her Majeſty's
" letters patents now tendered to your
" Lordſhip, grant me inſtitution to the
" Deanry of Carliſle without delay, and
" without inſiſting on any ſuch retracta-
" tion. Provided always your Lordſhip
" have full and ſufficient right to grant
" ſuch inſtitution to me, of which I can-
" not

"not be ſuppoſed a competent judge,
"and which exception I deſire may be
"underſtood and included in every thing
"that I have done or ſaid towards de-
"ſiring inſtitution from your Lordſhip.
"And I humbly pray, that the Nota-
"ries now preſent draw up in form
"a notarial act of this your Lordſhip's
"demand, and my humble reply,

"FR. ATTERBURY.

"Roſe-Caſtle, Sept. 15, 1704.

"*Teſt.* JOH. NICOLON, *Not. Pub.*
"G. LONGSTAFFE, *Not. Pub.*"

Upon the Dean's reading this reply to the Biſhop, his Lordſhip was in great confuſion; preſſed the Dean to converſe the matter with him, and to clear up his doubts. The Dean refuſed to ſay a ſyllable farther upon that head than what he had ſet down in writing. Then the Biſhop roſe up in a heat, fetched down the canons, and ſaid, "He would in-
"ſtitute him ſtep by ſtep, according to the
"form there preſcribed;" and firſt demanded his orders and letters teſtimonial. The Dean told him, "he had neither;" but ſaid, that

"he

" he thought the Dignities in the Church to " which he had been collated (particularly " the Archdeaconry of Totneſs) were ſuf- " ficient vouchers for his being in orders *." The Biſhop anſwered, " How do I know you " are Archdeacon of Totneſs?" The Dean replied, " Juſt as I know your Lordſhip to " be Biſhop of Carliſle." " Well," ſaid the Biſhop, " now I muſt examine you." Then he pauſed a while, and added, " But perhaps " this would be too great an affront to you!" " As many affronts as your Lordſhip pleaſes," ſaid the Dean: " I hope I am prepared to " bear them."

* In conſequence of the vote of convocation mentioned in p. 193, a letter had been ſent to the Univerſity of Oxford, expreſſing, that, " whereas " Mr. Francis Atterbury, late of Chriſt-Church, " had ſo happily aſſerted the rights and privileges " of an Engliſh Convocation, as to merit the ſo- " lemn thanks of the Lower Houſe of it for his " learned pains upon that ſubject; it might be " hoped, that the Univerſity would be no leſs for- " ward in taking ſome public notice of ſo great " a ſervice to the Church: and that the moſt pro- " per and ſeaſonable mark of reſpect to him would " be, to confer on him the degree of Doctor in " Divinity by diploma, without doing exerciſe " or paying fees." The Univerſity approved the contents of this letter, and accordingly created Mr. Atterbury Doctor in Divinity.

At

At laſt, the Biſhop went aſide, and produced a paper in his Regiſter's hands; which was this:

"Sept. 15, 1704.

"Having this day received her Majeſty's "letters patents under the great ſeal of "England, nominating Dr. Francis Atter- "bury to the vacant Deanry of Carliſle; and "being for the preſent under ſuch doubts "and difficulties in matters of law and con- "ſcience, that I cannot immediately inſtitute "the ſaid Dr. Atterbury; I do hereby ap- "point Thurſday the 12th of October next "for the making ſuch a dutiful return to "her Majeſty's letters patents as counſel in "the law ſhall direct or adviſe.

"This paper was read; and Dr. Atterbury "had notice given to attend the Biſhop "at Roſe the 12th of October next, be- "tween nine and ten in the forenoon, "in the preſence of

"J. N. *P. N.*
"G. L. *P. N.*"

The Dean urged "the hardſhip of this de- "lay, which would hinder him from attend- "ing the Queen that month as Chaplain, "and probably from preaching the Lord Al-

"moner's

" moner's turn on Nov. 15, which he had " undertaken at his Grace's deſire; beſides " that his Lordſhip had, by his letter to the " Archbiſhop of York, detained the Dean " from offering his letters patents eight days, " and ought not therefore to take the advan- " tage of them."

The Biſhop was pleaſed at laſt to ſay, that " he would write up to London; and if he " found that he could not juſtify denying " inſtitution upon the grounds he had gone, " he would, as ſoon as his anſwer came, " immediately do it, without expecting his " attendance till October the 12th." He added, " he would not inſiſt upon producing " teſtimonial Letters or Orders." So they parted without incivility; and the Dean went to Carliſle, where he expects the event *.

* He was inſtalled in the month of October.

FOUR

VISITATION CHARGES,

By Biſhop ATTERBURY.

Never before printed.

I. SPEECH of DR. ATTERBURY to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Totneſs, 1702.

MY REVEREND BRETHREN,

WHEN, by the goodneſs of GOD, and the bounty of our Right Reverend Dioceſan * (a name never to be mentioned by me, or by any true ſon of the Church of England, but with the utmoſt marks of reſpect and honour), I was placed in this ſtation †; there was nothing I more earneſtly deſired than to take the earlieſt opportunity of coming down hither, and of diſcharging, to the beſt of my ability, that ſacred truſt which he had been pleaſed to repoſe in me.

At the time I ſhould have compleated theſe intentions a Convocation was ſitting, which met the laſt year, after a long intermiſſion of ſuch aſſemblies. Among the many other ill conſequences of that intermiſſion, this was one, that the knowledge of the forms and methods of proceeding was little underſtood, and could not eaſily or ſoon be retrieved from

* Sir Jonathan Trelawney, Bart. Biſhop of Exeter 1689—1707; and of Wincheſter, 1707—1721.

† He was inſtalled Archdeacon Jan. 29, 1700.

thoſe poor remains of the Journals of either Houſe, which were left unconſumed by the great fire of London. This want of light occaſioned ſome miſtaken claims and practices, which were inconſiſtent with the privileges of the Lower Houſe, that is, of all the inferior Clergy of this province, who are there repreſented and concluded, and laid the members of it under an unhappy neceſſity, either of giving up thoſe rights, or of contending with their ſuperiors in behalf of them; the moſt unpleaſing taſk that could befall an Engliſh Epiſcopal Clergy; of which there was never before any one inſtance in *ſtory*; as it is the hope and prayer of all good men, that, after this difference is quieted, there may never be another.

During theſe diſputes, the ſtrict attendance of the members was judged requiſite; eſpecially of ſuch of them as had happened in any meaſure to turn their thoughts towards thoſe ſtudies and enquiries which were uſeful at that juncture: and it was reckoned that, as things then ſtood, the public might receive greater advantage from their ſervices in that way than in any other. I, in particular, preſumed, that my Reverend Brethren of this diſtrict, who were known to

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be ſo heartily and unanimouſly concerned for the true intereſts of the Church, would think me better employed in promoting thoſe ends above, than in a perſonal attendance on my duty here below; the diſcharge of which I ſhall, by the bleſſing of GOD, never decline, but for ſuch reaſons as will eaſily juſtify me with every man that knows them. My *diſtance*, I am ſure, ſhall never be my excuſe; which ought indeed to have hindered me from undertaking a charge, had I foreſeen that it would have made me incapable at any time of executing it, but can never juſtify my omitting to execute what I have once undertaken.

What were the heads of our diſpute at that time, how it was managed, and what iſſue it had, is a ſubject to which I ſuppoſe none here preſent are ſtrangers. Nor do I deſire to revive the memory of theſe things, but had much rather, if it ſo pleaſed GOD, that they were from henceforth buried altogether in ſilence; and that no future occaſion may be given by thoſe in whoſe power it was to have prevented the diſpute at firſt, either for us to remember them, or to put others in mind of them.

Under this hope we came together once again, at the laſt Convocation, with ſincere inclinations to peace on the ſide of the Lower Houſe, which they manifeſted in two remarkable inſtances.

Firſt, though they were under the fulleſt convictions of their right of adjourning themſelves to any intermediate time, and of ſitting and acting during the intervals of the Upper Houſe adjournments; yet, knowing that the *actual exerciſe* of this right would be an occaſion of keeping up the diſputes which had hitherto interrupted the correſpondence with my Lords the Biſhops, they choſe totally to forbear it, and contented themſelves to meet always preciſely at the ſame day and hour when the Upper Houſe met; and when they had continued ſo to do for ſome time, they at laſt appointed a committee to conſider of a method of accommodating and laying aſleep for the future all diſputes about the chief point then conteſted between them and their ſuperiors. That this committee might anſwer its deſign, they took care that it ſhould conſiſt of ſuch perſons as were known to be of different ſentiments on that head, and that a full half of the members compoſing it ſhould

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be of the number of thoſe who had hitherto declared themſelves, unſatisfied with the claims made by the reſt of their Brethren. This committee had the deſired ſucceſs; and did entirely, without the leaſt doubt or diſagreement, fall into ſuch reſolutions as were by all of them judged effectual towards healing the preſent unhappy breach, and opening again the correſpondence between the two houſes.

How this expedient failed afterwards of taking place, by the death of the Prolocutor happening juſt upon the cloſe of it, by a new diſpute ſtarted on that occaſion, and by the conſequent diſmiſſion of the ſynod, is now needleſs, and perhaps improper to repeat, becauſe it cannot be done without ſome ſeeming reflection on thoſe who laid hold of this *incident*, in order once more to perplex affairs, and hinder the Convocation from proceeding on buſineſs. And ſince there is ſtill hope that a new meeting with the next Parliament may adjuſt all differences, it will become us rather reſpectfully to cover them for the preſent, than to ſay any thing that may keep them alive and widen them. Nor would I have mentioned the former particu-

lars, but in order to ſhew that the Lower Houſe were ſincerely deſirous of ſuch an union and good underſtanding, as we all know to be abſolutely requiſite towards retrieving the honour and advantages of an Engliſh Synod, and making it uſeful to all the great purpoſes of Religion for which it is deſigned. But thus much I muſt be allowed to ſay, that if it hath not as yet reached that end, and anſwered the expectations of all good and wiſe men in that particular, the fault was not in the inferior Clergy, who took every ſtep towards an accommodation that it was poſſible for them to take, without giving up the Rights and very Being of their houſe, and rendering ſuch aſſemblies, and their acting, altogether precarious.

Nor let it be thought that the point contended for by them was too little and inſignificant to juſtify ſo long and zealous a diſpute: for whatever it may, upon the firſt view, ſeem; it will, upon further conſideration, be found to be an article of the utmoſt importance, and worth all that ſtruggle which was employed in it; ſince, without ſecuring the right of the Lower Houſe to judge of the times proper for its own ſitting and acting,

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it will be impoſſible to ſecure any of their other legal Rights and Privileges at ſuch junctures when the adminiſtration of eccleſiaſtical affairs ſhall hereafter happen to fall into hands that may allow themſelves to be made inſtruments of ſuppreſſing Synods, and of ſerving the ill deſign of thoſe who are the reſtleſs enemies of this Eſtabliſhed Church and Conſtitution.

God be thanked, theſe are now dangers at a diſtance, while we have a Gracious Queen on the throne, who we are ſure will be ſo far from doing any harm to the Church, that ſhe will not, in her time, ſuffer any to be done to it. But as diſtant as theſe dangers are, they may one day come; and when they do, there is no fence againſt them, but from the inherent power of the Lower Houſe to appoint the times of its own ſitting and riſing. And therefore, were the preſervation of this ſingle right, the only point gained in the late meetings of the Clergy, yet poſterity will ſay, that even on this account neither their zeal nor time was ill employed.

But it is well known, that they had other deſigns in view, beſide this of ſecuring their Preliminary Rights; and particularly made

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attempts towards procuring a redreſs of ſeveral grievances which lay upon the Clergy of this Province, and towards preſerving the doctrine of the Church, contained in the XXXIX Articles, free from corrupt gloſſes and falſe *expoſitions*; in which if they ſucceeded not altogether according to their deſire, yet is not the want of that ſucceſs to be attributed to them, who took all the ſteps that were proper to obtain it; and would have made themſelves uſeful in that way which may be thought to have beſt become their function and character, if their applications had been as favourably received as the importance and juſtice of them ſeemed to require.

In one thing they were fully juſtified by a late event, as to the reaſonableneſs of what they offered for reviving the too long diſuſed execution of the Biſhop's Parliamentary Writ on the Dioceſan Clergy concerned in it. Which practice, had it been kept up in every dioceſe of the kingdom, as it was in *this* and ſome others, had prevented the late diſſolution of the Synod, and given the Clergy a title to a parliamentary attendance upon the foot of the late ſtatute, notwithſtanding the death of his Majeſty, by which that meeting alone determined

termined, which was called and held by the King's provincial writ to the Archbiſhop. Nor had we now ſeen ſuch a new thing as our Conſtitution before was utterly a ſtranger to, the inſtance of a Parliament ſitting, without a concurrent Convocation of the Clergy.

The ſudden diſmiſſion and diſſolution of this laſt Synod gave me no liberty of being preſent here, but what I was before fully determined to have taken had it continued to ſit: for by the enquiries that had been made on the heads debated, the Lower Houſe were now ſo fully appriſed of their rights, and of the methods of aſſerting them, that the aſſiſtance of no one member could be miſſed. But it ſo happened, that, at the moment when I was ſetting out for theſe parts, I received commands for attending a great ſolemnity *, which I could not diſobey. This, with ſome other accidents, which it was not eaſy for me at that diſtance, and in the entrance on my office, to foreſee and prevent, occaſioned ſome uncertainty in the notice given of the times of viſitation, and I fear laid my Reverend Brethren of the Clergy under ſome inconveniences; for which I think myſelf

* Either the royal funeral or coronation.

obliged

obliged to make my public excuſe to them; and to aſſure them, that, in ſucceeding years, ſuch uncertainties ſhall be remedied.

I come hither, at preſent a ſtranger, in order to acquaint myſelf with the poſture of affairs in this diſtrict, as far as the juriſdiction committed to me is concerned; and to get ſuch a ſure and full inſight into them, as may enable me hereafter to return hither better qualified to do that little good, which the great diſcouragements that of late years have been laid on theſe courts, and the neglects by that means occaſioned in the exerciſe of the powers belonging to them, will ſuffer to be done. And I have foreborn therefore to entertain you with any diſcourſe relating either to my own duty, or that of other men; reſerving ſuch addreſſes to a time when I ſhall be more fully inſtructed in the matter of them, and better prepared by experience to offer ſome thoughts to you, which may, with your help, be of common advantage to us.

In the mean time, I make it my earneſt requeſt to this Reverend Auditory, to afford me the beſt light and aſſiſtance they can in this caſe, and to inform me of all ſuch faults

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and defects as they may have obſerved in the adminiſtration of the ſpiritual juriſdiction, and of their thoughts about the moſt proper ways and means of amending them. They cannot do me a more kind and welcome office than by imparting ſuch obſervations, which I ſhall always gratefully acknowledge and improve according to the beſt of my ſkill and ability.

I have one thing at preſent to offer to you, by the particular command of my Lord Biſhop, that *you* would, *together with the Churchwardens*, ſubſcribe the *Regiſters* now delivered in by them, as the 70th Canon expreſsly directs; and I have a further requeſt to add to this, that you would alſo ſign their Preſentments, which, though good and valid when made ſeparately either by the Churchwardens or by the Miniſter alone, yet ſeem better to anſwer the intentions and expreſſions of the 118th Canon, when *exhibited jointly* by both of them; and I am ſure are, when ſo ſubſcribed, more likely to reach the ends for which they are intended, and to ſatisfy me that they are as compleat and full, in all reſpects, as they ought to be: without which be done, the deſign of theſe Viſitations is loſt.

II.

II. Speech of Dr. Atterbury to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Totneſs. 1703.

THE laſt time we met, I gave you ſome account of the unhappy diſpute then depending between the two Houſes of Convocation; and I hoped, by this time, to have been able to tell you that it was ended, and had given way to buſineſs of a more public nature and influence, in which the world juſtly expects, and all who wiſh well to Religion and the Church heartily deſire, that ſuch aſſemblies may be ever employed. But (with great concern I ſpeak it) thoſe wounds are ſtill uncloſed; and by that means the deſigns which many good men had of rendering Synods uſeful and venerable, and of reſtoring the life and power as well as the form of them, hath been hitherto defeated. I delight not to dwell on ſo melancholy a ſubject. However, I think it a debt due to the Lower Clergy of this Province briefly to inform you what ſteps were taken, and propoſals made by them towards accommodating matters

matters with their ſuperiors: by which, however unſucceſsful, you will ſee that they have effectually removed the preſent blame of this diviſion from their own doors, and ſhewed themſelves as deſirous of peace, if upon any reaſonable terms it might be had, as they were of ſecuring their juſt rights and privileges when invaded. The ſubject is no ways foreign to the deſign of theſe meetings; for if ever this, or any other inferior Eccleſiaſtical Court, regain its due ſtrength and authority, it muſt be by a proper influence and countenance derived from the Supreme Church Tribunal, a Convocation: together with which, all leſſer juriſdictions, the uſe of them, and reverence for them, muſt always ſink or riſe, proſper or decay.

This deſire of theirs they manifeſted when, in the very entrance of the laſt Convocation, they made the following humble application to their Lordſhips, which I crave leave to repeat to you in the very terms wherein it was delivered.

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This application was ſo reaſonable, decent, and dutiful, that it could not but produce ſome advances on the ſide of their Lordſhips; who therefore ſome time afterwards made the two following propoſals.

That the Lower Houſe might *meet* in committees, to *prepare* buſineſs *between* the ſynodical Prorogations.

That *when* buſineſs *ſhould be before* the Convocation, the Archbiſhop *would* ſo order the prorogations, that ſufficient time *ſhould be allowed* for the conſidering and finiſhing it.

The Clergy ſaw that, upon the foot of theſe propoſals, their *acting* and ~~very being~~ would be entirely precarious, and that a compliance with them would be ſo far from bringing the diſpute to *a final determination* (as they expreſsly deſired), that it would not lay it aſleep for one moment longer than the buſineſs they entered upon ſhould be grateful to their ſuperiors, in whoſe power it was left to ſuffer them to act, or not to act, as an Houſe, as they ſhould ſee occaſion.

They therefore once more earneſtly beſought their Lordſhips, that they would pleaſe to ſuggeſt *ſuch* a method of accommodating this difference, as would *totally ſilence* it for

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the future, and put it out of the *power* of *either* houſe to *interrupt* the buſineſs of Convocation, by reviving any diſputes about the forms and rules of proceeding.

Their Lordſhips *wholly* declined this propoſal; and, inſtead of offering any thing ſuitable to it, tranſmitted to the Lower Houſe a paper containing the *reaſons* of their claim (reaſons which they had often before urged, and which had as often been anſwered), and of the *neceſſity* they were under of inſiſting upon it.

The Lower Houſe now thought it high time to *make* ſome propoſal of this kind, ſince they were not likely to *receive* any, and did therefore *lay* before their Lordſhips the *following* requeſt; the *recital* of which will not, I hope, be tedious to you.

[* * * * * * *]

This laſt deſire of theirs was no more liſtened to than any of the former; they were only *once* again told, that the Upper Houſe had an *unqueſtioned* right to what they claimed, *could* not depart from it, nor ſubmit it to *any* arbitration whatſoever.

There was therefore nothing left for the Clergy, but either to *ſit down contented* with the *loſs* of their rights, and with the *ſuſpenſion* of all *ſynodical* buſineſs; or to make a ſeparate application to the Queen, praying her royal interpoſition and judgement in the matters depending. They did ſo; but, before this petition could be offered, the ſeſſion of parliament was far ſpent; and the great affairs of the kingdom then under agitation, and the utter averſeneſs of my Lord Biſhops to ſubmit to this or any umpirage, hindered it from taking effect for the preſent, ſo that the diſtance between the *two* Houſes continues ſtill as wide as ever.

I have recounted to you, Reverend Brethren, all the ſteps taken by your repreſentatives in this whole affair, that you may the better judge what ground there is for thoſe calumnies with which they have been liberally loaded; as if they had deſigned to obſtruct any accommodation, or had not done every thing which it was poſſible for them to do in order to promote it; as if their conduct were attended with circumſtances of diſreſpect to my Lords the Biſhops, or they had made uſe of this laſt method of recourſe

to

to the Throne before they had tried all others, and utterly deſpaired of ſucceeding by them.

You will, I doubt not, juſtify them to yourſelves in all theſe reſpects; and I dare ſay the worthy perſons who repreſented this particular dioceſe, have acted with as full an approbation from you in this Synod, as they did in any of the former; and would find, on that account, that your confidence in them was no ways leſſened, if a new choice ſhould give you a new occaſion of expreſſing it.

The men who take pleaſure in traducing their brethren have endeavoured to expoſe thoſe of them who appeared ſteady in this cauſe, under the invidious name of *High Churchmen*. What they mean by that word, I cannot tell. But if an *High Churchman* be one who is for keeping up the preſent eccleſiaſtical conſtitution in all its parts, without making any *illegal* abatements in favour of ſuch as either openly oppoſe or ſecretly undermine it; one, who though he lives peaceably with all men of different perſuaſions, and endeavours to win them over by methods of lenity and kindneſs, yet is not charitable and moderate enough to depart from the Eſtabliſhment (even while it ſtands fixed by a

law) in order to meet them half-way in their opinions and practices; one, who thinks the Canons and Rubrick of the Church, and the acts of parliament made in favour of it, ought ſtrictly to be obſerved and kept up to, till they ſhall, upon a proſpect of a thorough compliance from thoſe without (if ſuch a caſe may be ſuppoſed), be releaſed, in any reſpect, by a competent authority: I ſay, if this be the character of an *High Churchman* (how odious a ſound ſoever that name may carry), I ſee no reaſon why any man ſhould be diſpleaſed with the title, becauſe ſuch an *High Churchman* is certainly a good *Chriſtian*, and a good *Engliſhman*.

But, to ſee the inconſiſtency of theſe men in their reproaches! at the ſame time that they have repreſented many of their Brethren as too ſtiffly addicted to the rules and principles of this Church, they have ventured to aſperſe them alſo as no friends to the ſacred order of Biſhops, which is the corner-ſtone and pillar of our Church-fabrick; and without a due regard for which it is impoſſible that *Preſbyters* here in England ſhould be *High Churchmen*, or indeed any Churchmen at all.

God

GOD forgive them who have coined and applied theſe opprobrious diſtinctions, and endeavoured to make others believe what, without breach of charity we may, ſay they never believed themſelves. It would be juſt as groſs and ſenſeleſs a calumny, ſhould any man pretend to blaſt the Clergy of this dioceſe as any ways diſaffected or undutiful to the Right Reverend Dioceſan, towards whom all the world knows that they bear ſo profound a reſpect and honour, as can be equalled by nothing but his Lordſhip's paternal care and love of them, his zeal for their intereſts and ſervice. Give me leave, by the way, to ſay that, of which he hath given one late and convincing inſtance, by moving the Crown for a releaſe of the arrears of tenths and firſt fruits upon all livings under £. 30. a year, in the Queen's books, in this and all other dioceſes; and what he has thus moved for, he hath been ſo happy as to obtain *.

And yet ſo far was this abſurd ſlander carried, that the Lower Houſe were reduced to a neceſſity of juſtifying themſelves under their hands, by declaring their opinion of the

* The ſame indulgence was afterwards granted to the clergy of Ireland, at the intercеſſion of Dr. Swift.

divine right of Epiſcopacy, and beſeeching their Lordſhips' concurrence in that declaration, which nevertheleſs they could not obtain.

Under theſe difficulties and diſappointments it is no wonder if the Clergy ſhould have been utterly diſheartened from proceeding on any ſynodical buſineſs, which nevertheleſs they attempted on ſeveral heads; but, receiving no encouragement from thoſe who ſhould have given life to their endeavours, deſiſted from their attempts, and reſolved to wait another (and, we hope, a more favourable) opportunity.

In the mean time, the more obſtructions we find towards exerting the *ſynodical* power of the Church, the more reaſon we have to make *inferior* juriſdictions uſeful; and to do all that we can, in our ſeveral places and ſtations, to preſerve the poor remains of Church-diſcipline we enjoy in their due life and vigour, ſince we are not *as yet* likely either to retrieve what is loſt, or enforce what is left by new ſanctions; a work which deſerves the beſt wiſhes and aſſiſtances of every man who has a regard for the intereſt of Religion, and for the honour and authority of the Church of England.

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As to this particular diſtrict, which it has fallen to my lot to take care of, I have reſolved, by GOD's bleſſing, to make it as uſeful to the purpoſes for which it is intended, as it is poſſible for me, at the diſtance I am from it at preſent, to do. To that end I thought it requiſite to place the adminiſtration of it in a ſingle hand, whoſe integrity and care I had good reaſon to confide in, and who, by riding the cuſtomary circuits, might be an eye-witneſs of every thing that happened in them, and ſuffer no act, which bore the ſeal and authority of this court, to be ſped, any where throughout the Archdeaconry, but in his preſence only. Some abuſes I have already redreſſed by this and other means; and ſhall, GOD willing, take care to rectify others as faſt as they come to my knowledge, and I can find out due remedies for them. My Brethren of the Archdeaconry have, I thank them, been ſome of them aſſiſtant to me in this matter, by laying ſuch accounts of things before me as were very inſtructive and ſeaſonable. I have made, and ſhall continue to make, a proper uſe of them; and I hope that they alſo will ſtill continue

the like good offices till they find (as I dare ſay they never will find) that ſuch applications are either unwelcome to me, or neglected afterwards by me. For the ſincere deſire of my heart is, to root up all corrupt practices of all kinds, though they have never ſo long and generally obtained, which may injure the credit of the juriſdiction, and by that means hinder the uſe and influence of it.

I ſhall add only a repetition of that requeſt which I have once already made to you (not without direction from our Right Reverend and Honoured Dioceſan), that the miniſters would aſſiſt the ſeveral Churchwardens and Sideſmen in their Preſentments, and join in *ſigning* them; in which, though by the expreſſions occurring in *ſome* Canons they may ſeem to be left at large, yet by what is to be met with elſewhere (particularly in the 113th, 115th, and 118th Canons) I think it very apparent that their aſſiſtance in that caſe may, by the orders of the Church, be always juſtly expected from them. Sure I am, that without their helping hand the Preſentments will be always lame and ineffectual.

I am ordered, by my Lord Biſhop, to lay before you a Petition from the miniſter and inhabitants of *Bratton-Fleming*, in relation to the re-building of their church. You will preſently hear the contents of it; and are the beſt judges what it may be proper for any of you to do on that occaſion.

III. Speech of Dr. Atterbury to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Totneſs, 1708.

REVEREND BRETHREN,

MY preſent deſign is, to ſpeak to you concerning that very antient and uſeful office of *Dean Rural*; an office which hath formerly contributed much to ſupport and enliven the diſcipline of the Church, and might be of equal uſe ſtill, if the powers heretofore annexed to it were duly revived and executed. However, even upon the foot it now ſtands, eſpecially in this dioceſe, it is of great ſervice, when diſcharged with a conſcientious care and fidelity. And therefore pity it is, that either any diſorder ſhould happen in the manner of chooſing ſuch officers, or any neglect in exerting thoſe powers, which do ſtill, both by law and cuſtom, belong to them; becauſe each of theſe hath a manifeſt tendency towards ſinking the office yet lower than it is already ſunk, and bringing it at laſt altogether into diſrepute and diſuſe;

uſe; which it ſhall be my buſineſs to whom it immediately belongs, as I doubt not but it will be the endeavour of our common Superior (with whom GOD has bleſſed us), by all proper and effectual methods to prevent.

Permit me therefore, Brethren, to diſcourſe to you in ſuch meaſure as the time will allow of, concerning the name and title, the antiquity, nature, and extent of this office; to ſay ſomewhat alſo of the powers and rights which belonged to it formerly, but have ſince been loſt by miſuſe; and ſomewhat alſo of the preſent powers with which it is inveſted, and of the great reaſon there is to preſerve and employ them.

The office is very antient, though not under the preſent appellation of *Dean Rural*, but that of *Archipresbyter*, of which there were two ſorts, the *Urban* and *Rural*. The *Urban Archipresbyter* was originally the ſame with him whom we now call the *Dean of the Cathedral Church*; the *Rural Archipresbyter* was he whom we now ſtyle the *Rural Dean*, who, according to the opinion of Duarenus and Sir Henry Spelman (authorities that we may ſafely follow), ſucceeded in the room of the *Chorepiſcopi*, upon the abolition of that office

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in this Weſtern part of Chriſtendom. This ſort of officer, if the text of the Canon Law compiled by Gratian might be relied on, was older than the Council of Agatha, celebrated in 506, a Canon of which is there cited, commanding that, at the ſolemn reconciliation of penitents, *adſint Decani*, i. e. *Archipresbyteri Parochiarum*, who were to have the care of examining into their offences, and preſcribing penances. But nothing of this kind is to be found in any of the Canons of that Council now remaining. *Gratian* tranſcribed this miſtake from *Burchard*, who went before him in the ſame attempt: and *Burchard* flouriſhing but about 700 years ago, it cannot be judged how much antienter than him the *Archipresbyters* mentioned in this Canon were.

The firſt clear account we have of theſe officers (as diſtinguiſhed from the Urban Archipreſbyters, or Cathedral Deans, in the tomes of the Councils) is, I think, A. D. 850, when they were eſtabliſhed by a Canon of the Council of Pavia in Italy; the words of which are theſe:

"Propter aſſiduam erga populum Dei cu-
"ram ſingulis plebibus Archipreſbyteros præ-
"eſſe

" eſſe volumus, qui non ſolum imperiti vulgi
" ſolicitudinem gerant, verum etiam eorum
" Preſbyterorum qui per minores titulos ha-
" bitant vitam jugi circumſpectione cuſtodiant,
" & quâ unuſquiſque induſtriâ divinum opus
" exerceat Epiſcopo ſuo renuntiet, &c."

This Canon was recited afterwards in *terminis*, and confirmed, by a Council at Rome in the year 904. So far is it from truth, what a late author *, in his *Parochial Antiquities*, hath affirmed, that this inſtitution was peculiar to *Germany*, *Gaul*, *Great Britain*, and the *Northern Parts of Europe*; but altogether unknown to *Italy*, till the time of Cardinal *Borromeo*. The ground of that error was, a falſe notion entertained by him, that the *Dean Rural* in the Church anſwered to the *Tithing Man* in the State, and had the ſame *extent of juriſdiction* (ſo he ſpeaks); which led him to imagine, that that portion of a Biſhoprick which we call a *Rural Deanry* was to be found in no countries but where the like civil diſtribution into *tithings* prevailed. I need oppoſe nothing to this opinion beyond the authority of Sir H. Spelman in that part of his Gloſſary which he himſelf printed; where he tells us, that the *Rural*

* Dr. Kennet.

Deanry

Deanry anſwered (not to the ſecular tithing, but rather and more nearly) to the county hundred.

"Decanatus dicitur de portione epiſcopatus, "centuriæ ſeu hundredo comitatus reſpon-"denti, & decanò olim ſuppoſitâ." Gloſſar. in voce *Decanatus*, p. 166.

That there were *Rural Deans* here in the Saxon times I doubt not, though the hiſtories and eccleſiaſtical monuments of thoſe ages, now preſerved, are ſilent concerning them. The only inſtance of this kind produced (p. 633.) by the writer juſt now mentioned, is no ſure proof of it; being taken from that part of Edward the Confeſſor's Laws which is not looked upon as genuine, but thought to be added to them by Henry I. who reſtored and enforced them.

Not long after the Reign of Henry I. theſe officers are mentioned in the great Lateran Council, held A. D. 1179, under the title of *Decani conſtituti ſub Archidiaconis*; and rules are preſcribed for leſſening the expences that attend their viſitations. From that time our Engliſh Eccleſiaſtical Laws take frequent notice of them. The true reaſons of the firſt riſe and inſtitution of this office were, the great

great extent of dioceſes and archdeaconries, and the neceſſity which Biſhops were under of attending not only at Eccleſiaſtical Synods, but all Great Councils of State; and the ſhare they had (eſpecially after the time of Charles the Great) in the management of public offices and affairs. This occaſioned a delegation of all their juriſdiction to ſome officers, and of ſome parts of it to others erected for this purpoſe; from whom they preſerved a right of Appeal. As to the particular erection of *Deans Rural*, I cannot better account for it than in the excellent words of Roverius, a French author of note.

"Cum ad Presbyteros rure degentes ex-
"tendere ſe continuò non poſſet Epiſcoporum
"aut Archidiaconorum vigilantia, collocati
"fuere per intervalla in quibuſdam quaſi ex-
"cubiis Presbyterorum aliqui, Decani vel
"Archipresbyteri vocitati, ut cæterorum
"Presbyterorum & Plebis moribus, vice
"Epiſcopi aut Archidiaconi, invigilarent."

What Roverius ſays of their officiating in France "vice Epiſcopi aut Archidiaconi," is confirmed as to England, by *Lyndwood*, in various parts of his Provincial. In one place he calls them "Vicarii Epiſcoporum quam Ar-
"chidiaconorum."

"chidiaconorum." In a third, he ſays that they are *Decani Temporales ad aliquod miniſterium ſub Epiſcopo vel Archidiacono exercendum conſtituti.* In a fourth, he thus deſcribes them: *Sunt perſonæ habentes quædam officia communiter ſpectantia ad Epiſcopum vel Archidiaconum: et ideo communiter eorum receptio & amotio pertinet ad utrumque.* And there is a remarkable paſſage in his comment, where he enquires, whether the Deans of the Archbiſhop's Peculiars (as Shoreham, Croydon, &c.) can by cuſtom have cognizance of *matrimonial cauſes.* To which he anſwers, they may; and gives this reaſon for it, becauſe thoſe Deans have Archidiaconal Juriſdiction, being ſubject to the Archbiſhop alone, who deputes them, *cum tamen cæteri Decani Rurales* etiam (*ut communiter*) *ſubſint Archidiaconis.* And to the ſame purpoſe ſpeaks Atho's Gloſſary on the Legatine Conſtitutions of Otho. *Tam præfici debent Decani Rurales quam etiam amoveri per Epiſcopum & Archidiaconum ſimul de jure*; he adds indeed *ſalvâ conſuetudine locorum*, becauſe, in ſome places, the mandate for the choice of *Deans Rural* doth, by the Biſhop's grant, proceed from the Archdeacon alone, as in the dioceſe of Canterbury. In others

others from the Biſhop and Archdeacon jointly; *i. e.* from the Biſhop through the Archdeacon, as in this dioceſe. And from all theſe authorities that ſkilful and accurate Civilian Dr. Cowell collected this definition of a Dean Rural, which he gives in his "Interpreter," and is tranſcribed by Godolphin into his "Repertorium."

"A perſon having eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction "over other miniſters and pariſhes near adjoining, aſſigned unto him by the Biſhop "and Archdeacon, being placed and diſplaced "by them." He means, by their authority, but at the inſtance, nomination, and election, of the Clergy. Nor is it unworthy of obſervation, that a Canon in 1571 (the only Canon of our Church which, ſince the Reformation, mentions *Deans Rural)* joins the Archdeacon with the Biſhop in the ſteps that are to be taken towards chooſing them. I forbear to recite the words here, becauſe I foreſee I ſhall have occaſion to uſe them towards the cloſe of this paper.

How and when the Archdeacon came into a fixed ſhare of authority in this matter, appears from a reſcript of Innocent III. in the year 1214, inſerted into the body of the

Canon Law. *Archipresbyteri* (ſays he) *qui a pluribus Decani nuncupantur, Archidiaconi juriſdictioni ſe noverint ſubjicere.* And in anſwer to an enquiry then made of him, *Utrùm Decani Rurales qui pro tempore ſtatuuntur ad mandatum Epiſcopi ſolùm* vel *Archidiaconi*, vel *etiam utriuſque inſtitui debeant* vel *deſtitui*, ſi *fuerint amovendi:* His determination there is, "*Ad hoc breviter reſpondemus* " quod cum ab omnibus quod omnes tangit " approbari debeat, & cum eorum" (*i. e.* of the Biſhop and Archdeacon) " Decanus officium exerceat, communiter eſt etiam eligendus vel deponendus." Ever ſince this reſcript, the Archdeacon's authority hath intervened, together with that of the Biſhop, towards appointing *Deans Rural*, except where by grant, compoſition, or cuſtom immemorial, things have been otherwiſe ordered; as the caſe is in the dioceſe of Canterbury, where, thirteen years after the date of this reſcript, Stephen Langton, the Archbiſhop, granted to his Archdeacon the inſtitution and deſtitution of *Deans Rural*; and for this remarkable reaſon:

" Cum abſurdum ſit ut alius eos conſtituat " quam is, qui eis debeat præeſſe, & cui re-

" ſpondere

"ſpondere tenentur; præſertim cum ipſis [Decanis nempe] referentibus, corrigere "debent [Archidiaconi] cæterorum errata."

This grant was two years afterwards confirmed by Archbiſhop Wetherſhed; but with the addition of the clauſe, "præhabito con-"ſilio noſtro." Both the inſtruments are printed at large by the induſtrious and judicious Mr. Somner.

The office of *Dean Rural*, at and before this time, was to inſpect the manners both of Clergy and Laity within his diſtrict, but chiefly of the former; and if any of theſe laboured under any evil fame, to call them before him; and to correct leſſer exceſſes as *in foro pœnitentiali* for the moſt part, rather than *judicially*; the Rural Deans being the *Confeſſores nati* of the clergy under them, till the monks, about King John's time, began to wreſt the authority out of their hands.

His power over the Clergy is by our *Otho* ſaid to be *Juriſdictio Cognitionalis, quoad effectum corrigendi, licèt non quoad effectum removendi tales a Villicatione, & ſuſpendendo eos ab officio.* And in this Lynwood agrees with him, allowing that the *Dean Rural* might inflict ſome of the leſſer cenſures for ſlight

offences: but greater matters he was to refer to the ſuperior ordinary, at the next ſynod, or convention of the Clergy; for which reaſon alſo he looks upon him to have been called, by the Canoniſts *Teſtis Synodalis.*

From the cognizance of greater, and particularly of *matrimonial cauſes*, he was entirely excluded by a Conſtitution of Otho, both becauſe he was not always ſuppoſed duly qualified for a diſcuſſion of them, by his ſkill in Canon Law; and becauſe alſo, as I apprehend, his office was often likely to determine ere ſuch intricate cauſes, where many witneſſes were to be examined, could be ripened to a ſentence. Nor could he ever *preſcribe* to a cuſtom of hearing ſuch cauſes, becauſe, as Lynwood well obſerves, by reaſon of a *temporary office*, no preſcription lies. On this account, as well as others, the office muſt needs afterwards have declined apace, becauſe a diſuſer would bar them of any branch of their authority, and no cuſtom whatſoever could either give them what they had not, or reſtore to them what they had loſt.

It was likewiſe the *Dean Rural's* buſineſs to inſtruct the younger Clergy in the way of adminiſtering and ordering ſacraments and

ſacra-

ſacramentals, according to the Canons and Cuſtoms of the Church, to appoint preachers for ſolemn occaſions, to take care of the ſequeſtration of vacant livings, and to provide for the ſupplies of the cure. He took order [illegible], and certified the execution of, proceſſes and decrees out of the ſuperior Court Chriſtian [and had perhaps on this account the title of *Decanus Chriſtianitatis* beſtowed on m].

Through his hands went the mandates for *Induction*, and thoſe for the choice of Convocation-clerks, which are ſtill alſo tranſmitted by him. For this purpoſe he had his *Apparitors*, and other under-officers, and an authentick ſeal, on which the name of *his office* was engraved, but not his *own*; that being allowed only to thoſe *eccleſiaſtical judges* who were *perpetual*; whereas the office of Rural Dean was *temporary*, and of no longer continuance, even in Lynwood's time, than it is now. *Quolibet anno* (ſays he) *mutantur decani, et fiunt novi.* This was now ſettled; but 200 years before, in *Otho's* time, it appears that they were very unwilling to reſign their office with their ſeals, at the expiration of the year. And therefore a parti-

cular conſtitution was made by that Legate to compel them to it. I wiſh the caſe were not much altered, when that office is accepted by ſome as unwillingly, as it was then parted with.

The Incumbents of the Deanry were his *Chapter*, which he ſummoned, as he ſaw cauſe, upon ſpecial emergencies; but had alſo ſtated times of convening them; for ſome of them were held once in three weeks or a month; others once a quarter; which laſt were called *Principalia Capitula propter majorem confluentiam Cleri, & quia in hiis de negotiis arduoribus tractari conſuevit.*

In theſe Quarterly Chapters (wherein firſt the Rural Deans only, but afterwards the Archdeacons, or their Officials, often preſided) deliberation was held of ſuch matters as were thought proper to be laid before the Biſhop; and the Parochial Clergy adviſed together about all affairs in which they were particularly concerned, and took common meaſures and reſolutions upon them; a moſt excellent and wiſe inſtitution, fitted to keep up order and uniformity, and to cultivate a good correſpondence among the neighbouring Clergy; to arm them againſt common dangers

gers and difficulties, and enable them every way to promote the intereſt of religion and virtue, and the good of ſouls committed to their charge.

And therefore a Right Honourable and Right Reverend Prelate, who adorned the paſtoral character as much as any Biſhop of his time, hath, in his *Conferences* with the Clergy of the ſeveral Deanries in his dioceſe, revived the image of theſe Rural Chapters, and purſued the ends of them.

The uſe of theſe Rural Chapters was little known out of England; for which reaſon Lynwood forbears to ſay much of them: *Quia magis nituntur conſuetudini patriæ quam juri communi, de iis ulterius ſcribere omitto*; though for that very reaſon one would have wiſhed that he had been more particular in his account of them.

The Editor of the Parochial Antiquities applies this paſſage of Lynwood to the Rural Deans themſelves, and not to their Chapters, to which however it ſolely belongs.

And now, my Reverend Brethren, having taken as diſtinct a view as the time would permit of thoſe powers which formerly belonged to Deans Rural, and of the great uſe-

fulneſs of ſuch officers, eſpecially in conjunction with their Chapters, give me leave, in the firſt place, to bemoan the decay of this part of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline; and from my heart to wiſh the revival of it; and then, till that ſhall happen, in the next place to beſeech and exhort you to do what in you lies towards preſerving the poor remains of thoſe powers which are ſtill left, and rendering them uſeful to the purpoſes for which they were intended.

In matters of publick government, the buſineſs of private perſons is, I confeſs, to make the beſt uſe they can of the preſent ſtate of things, without endeavouring to diſturb it by new models and ſchemes, which they think may be of more ſervice. But when a main branch of our antient eccleſiaſtical conſtitution hath been dropped by a gradual diſuſe, no man's modeſty needs reſtrain him from interpoſing towards a revival of it. And that is the caſe of Rural Deans and Chapters; which is no new-fangled device, but an inſtitution (as you have heard) of venerable age, by long experience approved, and practiſed with greater influence and ſucceſs in this than in any other part of Chriſtendom.

We

We are ſure, therefore, that is well adapted to our conſtitution, and would be ſo far from interfering, that it would fall-in with the other parts of it, and even contribute to ſupport and ſtrengthen them; and enrble thoſe who in an higher ſphere hold the reins of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline (too long and too much ſlackened) to guide them to better advantages than they do, or can do at preſent. This, I am ſure, was the opinion of thoſe who, after the Reformation of the Doctrine, were employed to draw up what was neceſſary towards compleating the Diſcipline of the Church; and to that end compiled the *Reformatio Legum Eccleſiaſticarum*, wherein the chapter of *Deans Rural* (which I recommend to your peruſal) contains a very full and particular account of their office, as it was then intended to be reſtored.

When this project proved abortive (for what reaſon they may eaſily gueſs, who conſider how ready ſome men have all along been to blame the defects of our Church-diſcipline, and how unwilling at the ſame time to ſupply them with proper proviſions, leſt they ſhould want occaſions of complaining); I ſay, when this ſcheme, in which the *civil*

power

power was chiefly concerned, took no effect; the *eccleſiaſtical* power did *what* it could to ſet things right by authority of Convocation. And among the Canons framed for this purpoſe, one in 1571 ſhews how ſenſible the then Biſhops and Clergy were of the uſefulneſs and importance of the Dean Rural's office, about which they thus determined:

"Peractâ viſitatione, Archidiaconus ſigni-
"ficabit Epiſcopo quos invenerit in quoque
"Decanatu eâ doctrinâ & judicio præditos,
"ut digni ſint qui pro concione doceant po-
"pulum, & præſint aliis. Ex iis Epiſcopus
"poteſt Electum facere, quos volet eſſe De-
"canos Rurales."

Here is no account given of the ſeveral powers and duties belonging to this Eccleſiaſtical Officer; two particulars only are mentioned, That he ſhould be well qualified to *preach* and to *govern*. But good *Preachers then*, in the infancy of our Reformation (when many illiterate men were of neceſſity to be ordained) being not to be found in every Deanry, the character and power of this Officer leſſened every day; ſo that the Convocation of 1603 (which fixed that body of Canons whereby our Church is now governed)

ed) appears not to have entered into any measures towards reſtoring it.

It hath been endeavoured indeed to promote the ſame end by *other means*, with which our conſtitution is wholly unacquainted, namely, by a voluntary erection of Societies for the Reformation of Manners. Far be it from me to condemn the zeal of thoſe perſons who with good intentions entered on that deſirable work, however unqualified they might be for it. But, when we conſider who have encouraged it moſt, and been moſt employed in it, we may be allowed to ſuſpect, that one end which ſome men have had in carrying it on was to take the inſpection of Manners out of their hands to whom it moſt properly belongs; and by that means to render *the function* as uſeleſs as they could, in order to its becoming contemptible.

This indeed, together with many other ſteps taken to the ſame purpoſe, not neceſſary here to be repeated, gives us no very comfortable proſpect of procuring any enlargement of the powers we already poſſeſs in matters appertaining to religion and virtue, or of retrieving any of thoſe we have loſt.

How-

However, ſome favourable juncture may ariſe, when our Superiors in Church and State ſhall lay theſe matters to heart, and think them worthy of their moſt ſerious and wiſe conſideration. And ſure I am, that, if ever a re-eſtabliſhment of Church-diſcipline in its vigour be ſincerely intended, one, and a chief, method of promoting it muſt be by a reſtoration of *Rural Deans and Chapters*, to the full extent of their antient powers.

Let us join in common wiſhes for this; and not forget, in the mean time, to exert the powers of which we are indubitably poſſeſſed. The office of Dean Rural is ſtill a great truſt, as it carries with it the care of the Church fabrick and utenſils, of preventing dilapidations, and of inſpecting the manners of the Clergy. Theſe particulars are expreſsly included in his preſent oath; the conſcientious obſervance of which is a matter of great conſequence; and therefore the *choice* of ſuch perſons as are to diſcharge theſe duties ought not to be neglected or eluded.

And when they are choſen, it were to be wiſhed that they would, as ſoon afterwards

as

as conveniently they can, ſet about the work, without deferring it, as they too often do, to the very time of the expiration of their office; when they have neither leiſure nor inclination to make due enquiries, or at leaſt due preſentments upon them; but ſatisfy themſelves with the promiſes of the reſpective perſons, Incumbents, to ſet things right, without having time left ſufficient to *oblige* them to perform thoſe promiſes; which are made again, perhaps, to the next Dean Rural, towards the cloſe of his office alſo, with as little effect as they were to the former; and thus dilapidations and the decays of Churches increaſe without end and without remedy.

The Canon of 1571 does, as we have heard, mention *Preaching*, as one part of the Dean Rural's buſineſs. I will not ſay that it certainly meant the *Viſitation Sermons*. However, though this be not provided for *ſpecially* by Canon, yet the power of the Ordinary, confirmed by cuſtom, hath made it *binding*. And, I hope, it will be looked upon by thoſe of my Brethren who have a right ſenſe of this matter, rather as an honour than a burthen.

I am

I am ſenſible I have detained you long; and yet there is ſomewhat ſtill behind, relating to this argument. But I ſhall reſerve it to be propoſed and conſidered when we meet together in private.

IV. VISITATION SPEECH to the Clergy of the Dioceſe of Rocheſter. May, 1716.

MY REVEREND BRETHREN,

EVER ſince, by GOD's good Providence, and the favour of her late Majeſty of ever dear and bleſſed memory, I was placed in this See, I have earneſtly deſired thus to meet my Clergy in Viſitation: but my long and repeated indiſpoſitions, my neceſſary attendance on Parliament, and the unſettled ſtate of public affairs, have till now prevented it.

I have been the leſs concerned on this account, becauſe, my dioceſe being ſmall, I thank GOD it is ſo (the ſmalleſt I believe in all England, and no part of it far diſtant from the place of my reſidence), I was able to inform myſelf pretty well of the true ſtate of it, without actually viſiting it; and one chief deſign of ſuch Viſitations being to enquire into the characters and conduct of the Clergy, I thought I might ſafely, for ſome time, defer ſuch an enquiry, being ſa-

tisfied that the Clergy over whom I preſide are as honeſt, regular, and orthodox a body of men as any other in the kingdom. However, one circumſtance there was which made this delay unwelcome to me, that it hindered me from knowing you perſonally, and being perſonally known to you, as early and as much as I wiſhed to be; and confined my acquaintance chiefly to thoſe of you who were either in my immediate neighbourbourhood, or had particular occaſions of applying themſelves to me for the diſcharge of my Epiſcopal Functions.

I am now come to ſupply this defect; and hope that our knowledge of each other will tend to the mutual comfort and advantage of all, and give me every day more and more reaſon to bleſs GOD for placing me in a ſtation ſo agreeable to me.

I verily believe, that you know very well what belongs to the paſtoral care of your flocks, and are not backward to practiſe it: and yet I ſhould be wanting in *my* duty, ſhould I not take this opportunity of ſaying ſomething to you concerning *yours*; and therefore I ſhall, in a very few words, tell you plainly my thoughts, and give you my advice

advice and direction, in relation to ſome principal branches of your office, as Parochial Incumbents.

And the *firſt* thing (as it deſerves in the *firſt* place to be recommended) I recommend to you, is, the reading, or (when you have juſt reaſon ſo to do) procuring ſuch as *will* read the publick prayers, in a deliberate and diſtinct, a grave and fervent manner; which will imprint upon the minds of your people a veneration for our ſervice, will enliven their attention, and raiſe their devotion, and edify them more, I am perſuaded, than even a well-compoſed and pathetic Sermon. But this point has, by my honoured predeceſſor *, on a like occaſion, been ſet in ſo full and clear a light, and handled with ſuch a force of godly eloquence, that all that any man can ſay on this head muſt fall ſhort of what he has already ſaid; and therefore I refer you to his inimitable diſcourſe on this ſubject, and deſire you often and ſeriouſly to peruſe it. Let me add only my earneſt requeſt, that you would, as much as in you lies, perſuade your people to reſort to publick prayers on Litany-days and Holy-days, as well as Sundays. I know, in ſmaller villages and pa-

* Bp. Sprat.

riſhes, where the inhabitants live by their daily labour, it is difficult to procure a congregation at ſuch times; and ſome miniſters, that have begun this good practice, have been diſcouraged from proſecuting it, by the want of numbers to join in the ſervice. And yet I cannot but think that perſeverance, and proper application to well-diſpoſed perſons, and the influence of a good example ſet by their own families, might at length attain the deſired end, in ſome places, where the church is now altogether ſhut up for ſix days in the week, and the people ſettled in an opinion that their preſence at public devotions is a duty only on Sundays.

It were well alſo, that the *Sacrament* of the LORD's Supper were adminiſtered in every pariſh (as it is, I hope, in moſt pariſhes of my Dioceſe) oftener, much oftener, than on the three great feſtivals; which might, methinks, be compaſſed, were the people once ſatisfied that ſuch a ſolemn and rigorous preparation of themſelves as ſome books of devotion preſcribe (however commendable it may be) is not abſolutely neceſſary towards a worthy reception of it, and that the ſhort and plain directions given for this purpoſe in the Communion-

munion-office and Church Catechiſm are thoſe by which every member of this Church ſhould chooſe to be guided, and on which he may as ſafely rely as on the rules laid down by any private unauthorized (however pious and well-meaning) writer; and that there is no man ſo ignorant, or ſo employed, but that he may, if he will, and as often as he will, by the help of thoſe directions, prepare himſelf to communicate worthily.

Having mentioned that ſhort, comprehenſive, and admirable ſummary of Chriſtian doctrine the *Church Catechiſm*, I cannot but expreſs to you my wiſhes that the teaching it to children, and explaining it publickly in the Church, were a work as grateful to Chriſtian congregations as it is uſeful to Chriſtianity; and that the Clergy might be allowed rather to employ themſelves in diſcharging this taſk than in compoſing Afternoon-ſermons—a duty neither enjoined by the *Rubric* nor by any *Canon*, and taken up chiefly from a cuſtom begun in ill times, and for ill purpoſes; but which cannot now be laid aſide, either with decency or prudence, in ſuch populous places, eſpecially where thoſe of the Separation abound, and would draw away our people

from the Church by the multitude of their Sermons.

However that may be, I muſt inſiſt, that what *is not* required by the Conſtitution ſhould not be practiſed in prejudice to *what is*; and therefore that the *preaching* of ſuch Sermons ſhould not intrench upon the important duty of *catechiſing children*; to which we in a great meaſure owe the continuance of ſincere piety and ſound principles among us: and therefore the late encouragers of *Charity-ſchool* are never enough to be commended for their care and diligence on this head, by which they have deſerved well of GOD and man, and have done the Church of England and the pure Religion of CHRIST excellent ſervice; and *verily they ſhall not fail of their reward.*

Let me obſerve to you here what peculiar ſtreſs is laid upon the right diſcharge of this duty of *catechiſing*, and with what remarkable ſtrictneſs and ſeverity it is inforced by the ſanction of the 59th Canon. I expect that *that Canon* ſhould, if not in the letter, yet in the main intention and deſign of it, be carefully obſerved, particularly in Lent, and at ſuch other times and ſeaſons as the miniſter

in his diſcretion ſhall judge moſt proper for this work; and that parents and maſters of families ſhould be frequently called upon to do their duty in that reſpect, by obliging their children and ſervants to attend his inſtructions, and to ſubmit themſelves to a public and ſolemn examination.

The adminiſtration of the *Sacrament* of *Baptiſm* (another important part of Parochial duty) is, you all know, never regularly performed *in private*, but when neceſſity requires; and even then ſuch Baptiſm muſt be certified, and compleated in *publick*. A contrary cuſtom hath crept, here and there, into larger towns, and been gradually eſtabliſhed by ſuch compliances with men of rank, diſtinction, and ſubſtance, as are no ways warranted by our Conſtitution, and have overborn the wiſe and godly orders of the Church in that behalf. I muſt deſire you to do all that in you lies towards breaking through this ill cuſtom, wherever it has in any degree obtained *.

As likewiſe another, no leſs abſurd and unreaſonable, of performing the office of Thankſgiving for women after child-birth in

* See the Biſhop's correſpondence on this ſubject with Dean Stanhope, in vol. I. p.

private chambers; a practice which is not countenanced by any word in the *Rubric*, or by any allowance there made for extraordinary caſes, and is a contradiction to the very title as well as deſign of the office; and one would wonder therefore (if any thing in this age of diſorder and confuſion were to be wondered at) how it ever came to prevail. I know your endeavours to redreſs theſe abuſes will be attended with difficulties, ariſing from the importunity of perſons willing in this reſpect to be diſtinguiſhed, from the pleas of common uſage, ill health, and a regard to the tender age of infants, and from other leſs juſtifiable views and conſiderations: but they are ſuch difficulties as ought to be reſiſted, and may in time, by an inoffenſive ſteadineſs and prudence, and by a mind reſolved to overlook leſſer advantages, be totally vanquiſhed; and perhaps the due government of thoſe who find their account in ſuch compliances will be the hardeſt part of the Incumbent's taſk in this caſe.

"*Obſiſtet inolita conſuetudo, ſed meliori* "*conſuetudine vincetur: remurmurabit caro,* "*ſed fervore ſpiritus frænabitur.*" I chooſe to ſpeak to you in the words uſed by Thomas

Thomas à Kempis to another purpoſe: and leave them to be applied by you on this occaſion, in ſuch manner and meaſure as your Chriſtian diſcretion and concern for the honour of the Church, and for the due adminiſtration of her Sacraments and Ceremonies, ſhall ſuggeſt. And I ſhould not have ſaid ſo much on this point, did I not think it a matter of ſome conſequence, however it may have been neglected in places where Schiſm, Infidelity, and an irreligious Lukewarmneſs and Indifference have prevailed, and not only relaxed, but well nigh ſubverted, our diſcipline in all its branches.

The *Viſitation of the Sick* is a matter of daily and obvious uſe, with which all who have the cure of ſouls muſt needs be well acquainted, eſpecially where their flocks are large and numerous: and yet there is no part of the Incumbent's duty which requires greater degrees of ſpiritual ſkill, and of a certain holy dexterity and addreſs in the diſcharge of it. To know how to deal aright with the conſciences of decumbent dying ſinners; how to break their obſtinacy, and ſoften them into contrition; how to apply comfort or terror to them as there ſhall be occaſion;

how to ſatisfy their doubts, or, if need be, cure their deſpair; how to diſpoſe ſome to works of mercy, others to forgiveneſs and reſtitution; how to ſearch their minds to the quick, make them willing to lay open their inward ſores and blemiſhes, and by that means render them deſirous and worthy of ghoſtly abſolution; how to *ſpeak and exhort, and rebuke with all authority*, and yet with all humility and meekneſs, with all lenity and tenderneſs; is a taſk that cannot be advantageouſly performed but by a man bleſſed with a ſerious and pious frame of ſpirit, well eſteemed for gravity and ſanctity of life, endued with natural prudence, ripened by experience, and competently acquainted with ſome of the moſt uſeful rules of Caſuiſtical Divinity. And he who has this habitual ſkill and theſe qualifications will be capable of doing more good to his pariſhioners while he ſtands by their ſick beds, than perhaps he could ever do them from the pulpit while they were healthy and vigorous. The words of dying men are beſt remembered by their friends and relations; and the words of the Prieſt are moſt attended to by men that are dying, and make the deepeſt and moſt uſeful im-

impreſſions upon them: and it has been known, therefore, when a ſucceſsful diſcharge of this part of the miniſterial function upon ſick men, who have afterwards recovered their health, hath given them ſuch a ſenſe of the good offices then done by their Miniſter, and ſuch a reverence for his character, as has made them ever afterwards ſubmiſſive to his advice, and conſequently exemplary in their lives and converſations, and patterns of that regard which is due to the Clergy from thoſe who are edified by their holy miniſtration.

As to the *duty of Preaching*, there is none that requires leſs to be given *in charge* to the Clergy, becauſe there is none by which they more confeſſedly adorn their holy calling.

One thing only I ſhall ſay upon it, for the encouragement of thoſe of the younger ſort, who may have newly taken Holy Orders, and entered on Parochial Cures—that it is not ſo difficult a thing to be a good Preacher as ſome men imagine: there being nothing, in my opinion, neceſſary to it, but a thorough knowledge of the Scripture, a vital ſenſe of Religion upon the heart, a deſire of being uſeful to the congregation, and a fixed reſolution

lution of ſaying nothing from the pulpit, of which the Preacher himſelf is not clearly and fully convinced beforehand: and theſe attainments all lie within the reach of every honeſt good man, who has a competent ſhare of natural underſtanding. He that is well verſed in Holy Writ, and to whom the phraſe of it is familiar, will not fail of adding weight and authority to all he ſays: he that ſpeaks from his own heart, will eaſily reach the hearts and conſciences of thoſe that hear him: he that ſtudies only how to edify his people by plain inſtructive doctrine will be ſure of being liſtened to with attention, reſpect, and love; and he who appears to be ſeriouſly perſuaded of the truth of what he delivers, takes the beſt way in the world to perſuade and convince others; the pious warmth he inwardly feels will animate and enliven his diſcourſe, and raiſe ſome degrees of that holy flame in the breaſts of his audience.

But enough of this argument, which, I am ſenſible, tranſports me too far, into a manner of ſpeaking more proper for the pulpit, than for ſuch an aſſembly on ſuch an occaſion. And therefore to return.

The

The plain thoughts I have offered to you, concerning ſome branches of Parochial Duty, will be beſt enforced by adding my hearty requeſt to thoſe of you who have a legal excuſe, or juſt occaſion, to be abſent from your Cures, to ſupply them with ſuch perſons as will be ſure every way to anſwer the great truſt repoſed in them.

Since I came to this Dioceſe, I know of no *Curate* nominated to me for my Licence, whom I have not had good reaſon to think well qualified for his work. I bleſs GOD for it! and doubt not but I ſhall find thoſe (and many ſuch there are) who have not applied themſelves to me on that account, every way as fit and deſerving. I ſhall pay great regard to the Letters Teſtimonial given them in this caſe by the Incumbent of the pariſh, and by the neighbouring Clergy; and therefore may juſtly expect that you will all be, to the utmoſt degree, ſcrupulous in granting and ſigning ſuch Teſtimonials; and am very deſirous that, whenever you recommend any to me for Orders, Inſtitution, or a Curacy, you would not content yourſelves with the common forms, but would be expreſs and particular in the characters of the perſons, the time

time for which you have known them, and the ſalaries (if Curates) which you are willing to allow them. I hope no one will think it proper, for the future, to ſit down in ſuch a ſtation, without my previous conſent and approbation.

I expect the ſame perſonal applications to me by all ſuch as now *do*, or *ſhall* hereafter, teach School in my Dioceſe; nor will any licence ever iſſue to the latter till they have paſſed my examination.

The *ſpiritual* part of your Charge has, you ſee, ſo far taken up *my* thoughts, and *your* time, that I have ſcarce room to add any thing about matters of a *temporal* concern; which, though of an inferior nature, are yet by no means to be overlooked.

However, two or three things of this kind there are, which I ſhall mention, and which deſerve to be conſidered by you.

The firſt of them is, That the old Canon, about the annual *Perambulations* of Pariſhes, may, as far as in you lies, be obſerved. I fear it has been generally neglected, and thought a matter of more trouble than conſequence: but experience has ſhewn that ſuch neglects have, in ſome places, been attended with

with great inconveniences to the Minister and to the People, with relation to their Parochial Rights and Boundaries; and therefore I could wish that this laudable custom were every where revived and continued.

The supporting your *Parsonage and Vicarage houses* by all necessary reparations, and preserving the *timber* that grows in your cœmeteries, or on your glebes, for *that purpose*, or for *the repair of your chancels*, is *another thing*, which I cannot too earnestly recommend to you. You are obliged to it, in obedience to the laws both of Church and State, in gratitude to your Patrons, and in justice to your Successors: the honour of the Church, and the credit of your Order, require this at your hands, which are impaired and sullied by few things more than by scandalous dilapidations. Nor can any Incumbent, I think, with a good conscience, apply to his own use the profits of his living, till he has taken due care of the mansion allotted to him; which those revenues were designed to support in the *first place*, and the Incumbent himself *afterwards*. I speak not this by way of blame, but admonition: for I have not hitherto had opportunities of informing myself duly in such

ſuch matters. But if GOD ſhall give me life and health, my purpoſe is to be an eye-witneſs myſelf of all ſuch defects (if any ſuch there be) within the ſeveral pariſhes of my Dioceſe.

I have yet one thing more to offer to you; in which I take the intereſt of the Church to be deeply concerned.

The 87th Canon directs the making and tranſmitting to the Biſhop *true Terriers*. That taſk, when enjoined by authority, hath not always been performed with due care and exactneſs, and hath proved a detriment ſometimes, rather than an advantage, to the livings concerned.

Wherever it is undertaken, it will be moſt uſefully and effectually done if there be inſerted in ſuch Terriers not only the particulars required by that Canon (to which I refer you), but moreover accounts of all charitable gifts and bequeſts to the poor of the pariſh, to any ſchool or hoſpital there, for the reparation of the Church, or the Miniſter's maintenance; of any compoſition, or modus, and to what portion of lands, or ſpecies of tithes, ſuch modus extends. Theſe,

and

and ſundry other particulars (not eaſy to be enumerated) ſhould be ſpecified in thoſe accounts: and would the Incumbents (under the influence of any direction I ſhould be glad to give for that purpoſe) procure ſuch compleat States of the Rights and Revenues of this kind in their ſeveral pariſhes, and return them, authentically vouched, into my Regiſtry, I would take care that they ſhould not only there be preſerved, but entered fairly in a book, to which their ſucceſſors might always reſort, and receive from thence proper lights and informations. This method well purſued would (I am ſatisfied) be one of the beſt and wiſeſt ſteps that could be taken towards ſecuring, in due time, the patrimony of the Church from all further illegal and ſacrilegious encroachments.

But I muſt detain you no longer. The proper work of Viſitation requires our attendance; and the enſuing *Confirmation* will take up much of our time. I depend upon it that care has been taken to offer no one to me to be confirmed, but who hath firſt been examined, or whom the Miniſter otherwiſe knows to be well qualified for that holy ordinance.

It

It remains, that I exhort both myſelf and you, my Reverend Brethren, that we all do our duties faithfully, *as* in the ſight of GOD, on *this*, and on all *other* occaſions. Let us make it the chief ſtudy and endeavour of our lives *to work the work of him that ſent us*, and ſo fulfil the high commiſſion we have received from the *great Shepherd and Biſhop of ſouls*.

Let us *preach the word*, and live anſwerably to what we preach—*Be inſtant in ſeaſon and out of ſeaſon; reprove, rebuke, exhort, with all long-ſuffering and doctrine: not with eye-ſervice, as men-pleaſers, but in ſingleneſs of heart, fearing God.* Let us *watch in all things*, and, if need be, *endure afflictions, do the work of Evangeliſts, make full proof of our miniſtry*.

Let us behave ourſelves in all the offices of our ſtations, and in all circumſtances, diſcreetly indeed, warily, wiſely; but withal courageouſly, zealouſly, firmly. Let us not be frighted from a reſolute diſcharge of our duty, by any appearances of danger or difficulties; but go on in our way and in our works, though the ſky ſhould look lowering

over our heads, and the *face of the heavens* ſhould *gather blackneſs!* He that thus *obſerveth the winds ſhall not ſow*, and he *that* thus *regardeth the clouds ſhall not reap.*

Let us act, as becomes us, in the preſent moment, and truſt GOD with the event. His Providence and Protection will not be wanting to us, if we are not firſt wanting to ourſelves. If we are exemplary in our lives, and faithful to our deaths, in what is entruſted to us, our Candleſtick ſhall not be removed, nor our Light extinguiſhed: but *we of this Church*, as ſound and pure members of the Catholic Church of CHRIST, ſhall enjoy our ſhare of his promiſe, that *the gates of hell ſhall not prevail againſt it!*

Take heed therefore unto yourſelves, and to all the flock over which the Holy Ghoſt hath made you Overſeers, to feed the Church of God, which he hath purchaſed with his own blood.

And *now, Brethren, I commend you to God, and to the word of his grace, which is able to build you up*; and, *having eſtabliſhed, ſtrengthened, and ſettled you here, to give you an inheritance hereafter among all them which are ſanctified.*

DEDICATION prefixed by Dr. ATTERBURY to Fourteen Sermons, 1708.

To the Right Reverend Father in GOD, JONATHAN *, by Divine Permiſſion, Lord Biſhop of WINCHESTER, and Prelate of the Moſt Noble Order of the GARTER.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

TO accept this public teſtimony of gratitude, from a man who ſtands indebted to your Lordſhip for many favours, great

* Jonathan Trelawney was a younger ſon of ſir Jonathan Trelawney, of Pelynt, in Cornwall. But his elder brother dying in 1680, he inherited the title of baronet. He was a man of polite manners, competent learning, and uncommon knowledge of the world. He was a true ſon and friend of the Church; and exerted himſelfwith courage and alacrity, with magnanimity and addreſs, in defence of her juſt rights and privileges. He was friendly and open, generous and charitable; was a good companion, and a good man. He was ſucceſſively Biſhop of Briſtol, Exeter, and Winchester. He had as much perſonal intrepidity as biſhop Mews, his predeceſſor in the laſt of theſe ſees; and was, in all other reſpects, much his ſuperior. The maſterly dedication before Dr. Atter-

great in themſelves, but made much greater by your free and generous manner of conferring them*. For they were not the effects of importunity, or the juſt rewards of domeſtic ſervice; they ſprang not from dependence, or acquaintance; being beſtowed on one who was (at the firſt) little known to your Lordſhip, otherwiſe than by his honeſt endeavours to retrieve thoſe Synodical Rights of the Clergy, whereof you, my Lord, have been all along, to your great honour, the avowed Patron and Defender.

I mention not this inſtance of your Lordſhip's goodneſs to me, with any view of diſtinguiſhing myſelf from others. For you have done nothing in my caſe, but what you have frequently practiſed ſince the time that Divine Providence, for the good of this Church,

Atterbury's Sermons is addreſſed to this Prelate. The reader may ſee in it ſome traits of his character, without the exaggerations which are too often found in compoſitions of this kind; and which bring the ſincerity of authors in queſtion, before we have read the firſt page of their works. He died July 18, 1721. GRANGER.

* The Biſhop's favours had before been handſomely acknowledged by Dr. Atterbury, in his firſt Charge to the Archdeaconry of Totneſs. See p. 211.

raiſed you to the epiſcopal dignity; nothing, but what hath been ſucceſſively acknowledged by all thoſe who have prefixed your right reverend name to their labours, from the learned and venerable Dr. Pocock, down to the mean Author of the following Sermons. And, while your Lordſhip continues to repeat the ſame acts of generoſity, you muſt be contented to receive the very ſame acknowledgments; ſince we, who ſhare the obligations, can ſcarce find a better way of expreſſing our thanks, and doing juſtice to your character, than by informing the world why and how they were derived to us.

The ſecrecy with which wiſe ſtateſmen conduct their deſigns for the public good, ſo as that the execution alone ſhall make the diſcovery, hath by your Lordſhip been as carefully obſerved in your private ſchemes of beneficence; which have ſeldom appeared till they took effect, and ſurpriſed even thoſe who were moſt nearly intereſted in the ſucceſs of them. By this means you have, after the beſt manner, forbidden all applications, by rendering them not only unneceſſary, but impracticable; and have enjoyed

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to the utmoſt both the honour and the pleaſure of well-doing.

Indeed, there is ſcarce any virtue, which either diſpoſes the mind to deſerve well of others, or adds comelineſs and grace to deſerving actions, that doth not manifeſtly appear and ſhine in your Lordſhip: and by theſe recommending circumſtances you engage the very hearts of thoſe you oblige, and double the value of every kindneſs you do them.

To give, hoping (and looking) for nothing again, is the goſpel-rule of beneficence; and your Lordſhip hath ſtrictly obſerved it. For none of your gifts have been clogged with conditions: you have expected no returns, but what every one, who hath a thankful mind, and a juſt ſenſe of his duty, would even chooſe and delight to pay: you have aimed only at doing as became you in your high ſtation; and when thoſe whom you advanced did likewiſe as became them in their ſtations, your deſires were anſwered, and you had your reward.

It is well known with what courteſy and eaſe you have always treated thoſe whom you

have once obliged; on that very account they were ſure of having a nearer and freer acceſs to your Lordſhip, inſtead of being kept to the uſual terms of diſtance and dependance: you have been ſo far from ever putting any man in mind of what you have done for him, that you would never bear to be put in mind of it yourſelf; and have not been more careful to prevent ſolicitations, than to avoid acknowledgments. You had the thanks of your own conſcience; and you neither needed nor deſired any other.

It is the peculiar happineſs of thoſe perſons on whom your favours are placed, that they receive them from an hand eminent for its great and laſting ſervices to our Church and Conſtitution. For there are, I think, no enemies whatſoever, either of her doctrine, diſcipline, or worſhip (either within doors, or without) but what your Lordſhip hath, in the courſe of your epiſpocal government, withſtood and baffled.

You were one of thoſe Seven Prelates (worthy of honourable remembrance) who gave the moſt effectual check to the attempts of Popery in a late reign, and preſerved the pure profeſſion of Chriſtianity among us by the

the ſame ſuffering methods by which it was at firſt propagated. It can never be forgotten, with what a true Chriſtian ſpirit (ſuch as animated the chief Paſtors of the Church in thoſe days when Epiſcopacy was a certain ſtep to martyrdom) you ſtood forth, and offered yourſelf willingly to *witneſs a good confeſſion*; how ſolicitous you were, leſt the Tower-gates ſhould have been ſhut upon thoſe excellent perſons, ere your diſtance would permit you to accompany them in their glorious confinement; to partake of which you made as much haſte, as ſome men afterwards did to draw the advantages of it to themſelves under a new turn of affairs.

When that happened, new occaſions alſo of ſerving the Church offered themſelves to your Lordſhip, which you as readily embraced. The fatherly vigilance and exemplary firmneſs you then ſhewed, in fruſtrating the methods made uſe of to perpetuate ſchiſm by unauthorized ſchools and ſeminaries, were obſerved with pleaſure, and owned with thanks, by all that wiſhed well to our Eſtabliſhment Nor could they who wiſhed ill to it juſtly blame an endeavour

of ſecuring to the Ordinary that power which he always enjoyed, and of which he is not yet diveſted; and of confining a legal indulgence within the bounds preſcribed by that law which gave birth to it.

Shall I take notice here of the ſeaſonable and liberal encouragements you reached out to a worthy Preſbyter of this Church, who repreſſed the bold attempts of ſectaries by his learned and accurate writings? It may, I think, become me to mention even this particular act of your bounty, ſince it had a general aim and influence, and was not terminated in the perſon, how deſerving ſoever, but in the righteous cauſe which he eſpouſed; and which as your Lordſhip's fixed judgment leads you by all lawful means to ſupport, ſo your temper inclines you rather to promote by rewards than puniſhments.

The fears of Popery were ſcarce removed, when hereſy began to diffuſe its venom; and the ſacred myſteries of our faith were, after a daring and petulant manner, expoſed to public ſcorn, even in one of thoſe famous ſeats of knowledge which then were, and ſtill are, the chief bulwarks of true Religion. It pleaſed God that you were now poſſeſſed

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of a See which gave you power * to viſit and correct ſuch enormities; and you exerted that power with zeal and vigour; driving out from the Schools of Learning a Diſciple of Arius†, who had all the craft and obſtinacy of his Maſter, and the good-luck, for ſome time, to be as well ſupported. The proſecuting of this cauſe was attended with ſo many difficulties, as would have ſhaken a reſolution leſs firm than your Lordſhip's. But the diſcharge of your great truſt, and the maintenance of God's truth, were the ſprings which had ſet you on work; and they who act upon ſuch principles can never be diſcouraged.

The iſſue of that memorable ſtruggle, as it was of great advantage to the Church and the Univerſities in other reſpects, ſo particularly in this, that it fixed the power of Viſitors (not till then acknowledged final) upon the ſure foundation of a judgement in Parliament‡; and by that means made ſo effectual

* As Viſitor of Exeter College, Oxford.

† Dr. Bury, Rector of that College; ſee vol. I. p. 5.

‡ See a particular account of the pamphlets publiſhed on this occaſion, in Mr. Gough's valuable work, intituled, "Britiſh Topography," vol. II. p. 147, 148; whence it appears, that the caſe of Dr. Bury's ejection having been brought into the Houſe of Peers, by appeal from the King's

effectual a provision for the future quiet of those learned bodies, as may be reckoned equal to the greatest benefactions.

This, and another parliamentary decision, which your Lordship not long after with equal difficulty obtained, and by which the Bishops' sole right to judge of the qualifications of persons applying for institution was unalterably confirmed, are such instances of your magnanimity and public spirit, as will remain in memory while the Church or the Law of England lasts. For they were not temporary services, to be made use of and talked of for a while, and then forgotten; but (as the Historian truly said of his own writings) perpetual acquisitions, laid up for the benefit of succeeding ages; and he who contends for common rights with lower aims than these, means not the Constitution, but himself; and deserves not the applause even of his own times, when he is not disinterested enough to look beyond them.

It was the sense of these important services already done by your Lordship, that oc-

King's Bench, the power of Visitors was then settled, with all the authority it could receive from the Constitution; and no Court at Westminster or the Arches has since received an appeal against a Visitor.

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caſioned a general joy among good men, when they heard of your intended tranſlation to the See of Wincheſter. Particularly, the Clergy of that Dioceſe, and the Univerſity of Oxford, who were chiefly concerned in the conſequences of your promotion, received the firſt accounts of it with the greateſt ſatisfaction, and were in pain while the event was ſuſpended—a ſuſpenſe which, we may preſume, deſigned to do honour to your Lordſhip, and to juſtify the wiſdom of her Majeſty's choice; ſince it tended to ſhew how impatiently you were expected and deſired by thoſe who were to be under your inſpection and authority.

Among all the learned bodies whoſe hopes and fears were then in greateſt agitation, none was more (or with more reaſon) ſolicitous than that Houſe * which had the honour of educating your Lordſhip, and inſtilling into your mind thoſe principles, which whoever hath once imbibed ſeldom forſakes; and whoſoever forſakes not, muſt immoveably adhere to the true intereſts of the Church and Monarchy. Whilſt that fruitful Parent thus trains up her children, ſhe is ſecure of protection and favour from your Lordſhip, or

* Chriſt Church, Oxford.

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from whoever elſe he be that hath not been with-held from doing good to her in evil days by malicious and groundleſs clamours. Under your and their ſhadow ſhe hath reſted at noon, when the heat was moſt intenſe and ſcorching. She hath flouriſhed hitherto, and will, I doubt not, ſtill continue to flouriſh, though her enemies be many and mighty, and daily ſhoot out their arrows againſt her, even bitter words. She looks upon your Lordſhip's advancement as a ſure token that Divine Providence is ſtill propitious to her; and, encouraged by this proſpect, ſhe is ready to take up her parable, and ſay, "Joſeph is "a fruitful bough, even a fruitful bough by a "well, whoſe branches run over the wall. "The archers have ſorely grieved him, and "ſhot at him, and hated him: but his bow "abode in ſtrength, and the arms of his "hands were made ſtrong by the hands of "the mighty God of Jacob: from thence is "the Shepherd, the ſtone of Iſrael."

In the names of theſe, and of all other the true friends and ſons of the Church, permit me, my Lord, to congratulate your acceſſion to a See, which will afford you ſuch a ſphere of action as you were made to fill; which will furniſh you with many welcome

opportunities of doing good, of rewarding merit, of cheriſhing piety and virtue, of encouraging perſons diſtinguiſhed by their learning, their undaunted aſſertion of divine truths, and undiſſembled zeal for our admirable conſtitution in Church and State; which will, in ſhort, enable you to carry on all thoſe excellent deſigns, to which your upright and bountiful heart is religiouſly inclined.

What may we not promiſe ourſelves from the influence of your Lordſhip's conduct in ſo eminent a ſtation? from your known courage and fervency in the cauſe of God and his Church? from the greatneſs of your mind, the goodneſs of your intentions, and the ſoundneſs of your principles? from that habitual love of worthy deeds, which you contracted ſo early, and have by long practice confirmed? and from your experience of the ſucceſs that hath attended you in all you have ſuffered or done for the public?

By your Lordſhip's means, and within the circle of your power, we doubt not but to ſee all proper ſteps taken towards reviving decayed diſcipline, and reſtoring Church cenſures to their due force and credit; towards detecting and defeating clandeſtine ſimoniacal

ſimoniacal contracts; towards ſecuring the rights and revenues of the Clergy from encroachments, reſcuing their perſons and ſacred function from contempt; and freeing Religion itſelf from the inſults now made upon it by blaſphemous tongues and pens, with equal boldneſs and impunity.

Theſe, my Lord, are the expectations with which the beſt men are now entertaining themſelves, and which you are haſtening to make good. The actions of the paſt years of your life are a ſure earneſt and pledge of what thoſe to come will produce; and the bright example you have ſet long ago to yourſelf and to others, ſhall grow brighter in proportion to your power and opportunities: for "the path of the juſt is as the ſhining "light, that ſhineth more and more unto a "perfect day."

The great honours and revenues, ſtill annexed to ſome few ſtations in the Church, are the chief mark which impiety, envy, and ſacrilege, aim at; and much they have to ſay, why Religion ſhould be ſtripped of theſe ſuperfluous and unprofitable ornaments. But malice itſelf is diſarmed, and all objections are ſilenced, when thoſe rewards are beſtowed on men who, by their birth, and

virtues,

virtues, and experience, are every way qualified for them; whoſe hereditary fortunes * and noble natures ſet them above all mean deſigns of diverting the patrimony of the Church to improper uſes; and who are ready therefore to reflect back upon Religion the advantages they derive from thence, and to abound in all the offices of hoſpitality and charity, in proportion to what they enjoy. I need not ſay, how far theſe excellent qualities belong to your Lordſhip, and are a confeſſed part of your character.

When we compare the good which you have done, my Lord, with that which you have received, it brings to mind the appoſite paſſage of the Prophet: "The liberal deviſeth "liberal things, and by liberal things ſhall "he be eſtabliſhed." Your Lordſhip is an illuſtrious inſtance of this truth; for the bleſſings you have ſo plentifully ſcattered on thoſe beneath you, have been multiplied on your own head from above; and you have reaped the benefits of a moſt generous and firm friendſhip, in like manner as you ſowed them. "You have given, my Lord, and

* The Biſhop acquired the paternal eſtate, with the title of Baronet, on the death of his eldeſt brother. See p. 274.

"it hath been given unto you; good mea-
"ſure, preſſed down, ſhaken together, and
"running over: for with the ſame meaſure
"which you meted withal hath it been
"(and may it ever be!) meaſured to you
"again."

Your happineſs, my Lord, is now as complete as all the proſperous circumſtances of life can make it; and your private domeſtic felicities (a caſe rarely known) are no ways inferior to thoſe of a more public and ſplendid nature. For you are happy in the beſt of ladies *, as ſhe is in the tendereſt of huſbands; you have the beſt of brothers and the beſt of children †; thoſe "arrows in the hand of the mighty "man," which are both his ornament and defence: God be thanked, your "quiver is "full of them!" And He amongſt them, who is to inherit your ample fortunes ‡, doth, by his early love of learning, and moſt vir-

* Rebecca, daughter and coheireſs of Thomas Hele, of Briſcomb, Devonſhire, eſq.

† Three ſons and five daughters.

‡ Sir John Trelawney, the Biſhop's eldeſt ſon, died about the year 1755; and two younger brothers being dead before him, the title deſcended to his couſin Sir Henry, who had married Letitia, the biſhop's fifth daughter.

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tuous diſpoſition, promiſe that he will one day do honour even to that honourable ſtock from which he ſprings.

With ſuch a variety of bleſſings hath God ſurrounded you! and, that nothing may be wanting, he hath bleſſed you likewiſe with a heart and a ſkill to uſe them. May you, through his goodneſs, enjoy an uninterrupted continuance of them; and ſuch a length of days, as will give you room to improve them to the utmoſt, for his glory, and the public benefit!

This, my Lord, is the unanimous wiſh of all that have been obliged by you, of all that honour you; that is, of all that truly know you; but of none more than him who now offers theſe Sermons to your Lordſhip, and, with that ſincerity which becomes a Preacher of Divine Truth, profeſſes himſelf to be, by all the ties of eſteem and duty, gratitude and inclination,

Your Lordſhip's moſt devoted
and ever faithful ſervant,
FR. ATTERBURY.

DEDICATION to a Diſcourſe delivered May 29, 1709, to the Fellows of SION COLLEGE.

Reverendis in Chriſto Fratribus SIONENSIS COLLEGII SOCIIS, atque Eccleſiarum Londinenſium Paſtoribus.

COLLEGII noſtri Fundatori hoc erat propoſitum, quod & ſupremis tabulis teſtatum reliquit, ut, celebratis frequentius Cleri Conventibus, permiſtiſque conſiliis, & *Evangelicæ Doctrinæ veritati, & mutuo inter fratres amori optimè* conſuleretur. Huic inſtituto ut ſatisfierit, a me quidem hac concione tentatum eſt; a vobis autem effectum, cum, quam ego hauſtam e Sacris Literis de regum jure in ſubditos ſententiam defendendam ſuſceperim, eidem & vos fraternis animis uſquequaque conſentientes habuerim. Retulit enim mihi, qui tum cœtui noſtro præſidebat, Vir integerrimus, traditam a me e ſuggeſto doctrinam & comprobâſſe vos, et, ut in publicum exiret, uno ore poſtulaviſſe: Quorum alterum cum, Eccleſiæ noſtræ & Reipublicæ causâ, mihi eſſet gratiſſimum, alteri certe non erat repugnandum.

Habete

Habete itaque, *Viri præſtantiſſimi*, quam expetiviſtis, Concionem; eâ parte etiam quâ prius manca erat, auctam atque abſolutam: Quæ enim uncis includuntur, cum Orationi, intra horæ unius ſpatium contrahendæ, inſeri non poſſent, ut jam editæ accederent, curavi. Hæc autem, tanquam judicio veſtro atque teſtimonio munita, Lectori minimè exhibeo: eodem tamen filo, quo ea quæ audiviſtis, contexta cum ſint iiſdem planè fundamentis ſubnixa; cætera qui probaverint, ne hæc improbent non eſt magnopere extimeſcendum.

Faxit Deus, quæ afferuntur a nobis, ut ſtabiliendæ Pauli doctrinæ, ut tuendæ Regum dignitati, pacique publicæ conſervandæ, ut denique tollendis iis, quæ, in re omnium exploratiſſimâ, non abſque Chriſtiani nominis labe, nunc gliſcunt, controverſiis aliquatenus inſerviant! Ad iſtiuſmodi certè lites ſedandas veſtra omnium, Fratres, conſenſio, ac communis ſollicitudo, et valuit ſemper, & valebit, plurimum: Præſertim cum Venerandi admodum in Chriſto Patris noſtri Epiſcopi Londinenſis * curis atque conſiliis reſpondeat.

* Dr. Henry Compton.

Quæ cum ita sint, hortatio non est necessaria; gratulatione magis utendum est. Liceat itaque mihi verbis Ignatianis vos affari—

Τὸ γὰρ ἀξιονόμαστον ὑμῶν Πρεσβυτέριον, τῷ Θεῷ ἄξιον ἔστως σύνηρμοσται τῷ Ἐπισκόπῳ, ὡς χορδαὶ κιθάρᾳ· διὰ τοῦτο, ἐν τῇ ὁμονοίᾳ ὑμῶν, καὶ συμφώνῳ ἀγάπῃ Χριστὸς ᾄδεται.

Ut ita semper in rebus ad Deum pertinentibus sentiatis, ita Christianam Veritatem tueamini, concordiam foveatis, precatur

Conservus vester in Domino nostro Christo Jesu,

FR. ATTERBURY.

DEDICATION to a Sermon preached before the SONS of the CLERGY, Dec. 6, 1709.

To the Worſhipful STEWARDS * for the late Feaſt of the Sons of the Clergy.

GENTLEMEN, Dec. 23, 1709.

YOU deſired me to preach and print this Sermon: I complied with you in both theſe requeſts; though I had juſt objections to both of them. Permit me now, in my turn, to aſk one thing of you; againſt which, I think, there lies no objection: that as you have, with ſome trouble and expence, ſupported our Anniverſary-meeting, ſo you would continue always to countenance it by your preſence, and heartily to favour the honeſt and pious deſign of it. There are, I believe, two hundred perſons now living, who have gone before you in the Stewardſhip. If

* Mr. John Teniſon, Mr. John Scott, Mr. Thomas Fulkes, Mr. Humphry Colmer, Dr. John Freind, Mr. Anthony Webſter, Mr. John Markham, Mr. Benajah Barret, Mr. John Boſville, Mr. George Plaxton, Mr. Joſeph Sherwood, Mr. Auguſtin Martin.

all theſe be as earneſt and ſolicitous to promote this charity when *out* of that office, as they were when *in* it, we need not doubt but that it will ſpread and enlarge itſelf every year more and more; as, GOD be thanked, it hath lately done, notwithſtanding the great diſcouragements under which it labours, by reaſon of the public taxes, and its many new rivals in the ſame *labour of love*; but chiefly by reaſon of the growing wickedneſs of thoſe who, being enemies to the Clergy, and to the Religion of CHRIST, muſt needs be enemies to this particular Charity.

In compoſing this Diſcourſe, I purpoſely declined all offenſive and diſpleaſing truths, as unſeaſonable at a time peculiarly dedicated to the exerciſe of Charity; not as in themſelves miſbecoming the Preachers of the Goſpel: for I have learnt from one who well knew and practiſed every art of ſpiritual prudence, ſo as to "become all things to all "men, in order to ſave ſome;" that there are alſo times when we muſt "be inſtant in "preaching the word, though out of ſeaſon;" and when "they who pleaſe men are no "longer the ſervants of CHRIST;" times when that holy παῤῥησία, ſo much ſpoken of

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in Scripture, is neceſſary; even that undaunted firmneſs of mind and freedom of ſpeech, by which the doctrine of the Goſpel was diſſeminated at firſt, and muſt ſtill be maintained. When ſuch opportunities offer themſelves, GOD, I hope, will enable all thoſe who wait at his altar to diſcharge a good conſcience with equal wiſdom and courage.

I have added here and there, in the margins of the following ſheets, ſome paſſages from St. Chryſoſtom; becauſe they are not only very appoſite, but expreſſed alſo with great life and beauty: and I had hopes, by the means of them, to excite thoſe of my brethren who are newly entered into the Miniſtry, carefully to peruſe that excellent treatiſe from which they are taken: a treatiſe which, next to the ſacred pages themſelves, and the offices of ordination preſcribed by our Church, is, I am perſuaded, of the greateſt uſe, to give us true impreſſions of the dignity and duties of the Prieſthood, and to warn us into reſolutions of acting in every caſe as becomes our ſacred character. I cannot but expreſs my ſatisfaction, that a learned hand hath lately taken this uſeful piece out

of St. Chryſoſtom's works, and publiſhed it in a ſeparate volume *.

Excuſe me, Gentlemen, for mixing things of this nature in an addreſs to you; which was deſigned only to acquaint the world, *who* are anſwerable for the publication of this Sermon; and to aſſure you, after the moſt proper manner, that I am

Your very affectionate

and moſt humble ſervant,

FR. ATTERBURY.

* Mr. J. Hughes, fellow of Jeſus College, Cambridge. Two of his letters are printed in the Gentleman's Magazine, 1778, pp. 583. 623; in one of which he tells Mr. Bonwicke, "I have at laſt been prevailed upon to undertake an edition of St. Chryſoſtom περὶ ἱερωσύνης; and I would beg the favour of you to ſend me your octavo edition. I want a ſmall volume to lay by me; and the Latin verſion may be of ſome ſervice to me, if I correct the interpretation of Fronto Ducæus." A ſecond edition of this treatiſe was printed at Cambridge, in Greek and Latin, with notes, and a preliminary diſſertation againſt the pretended "Rights of the "Church, &c." in 1712. A good Engliſh tranſlation of St. Chryſoſtom "On the Prieſthood," a poſthumous work by the Rev. John Bunce, M. A. was publiſhed by his ſon (vicar of St. Stephen's near Canterbury) in 1760.

PRE-

PREFACE

TO THE SECOND PART OF

WALLER'S POEMS*, 1690.

THE reader needs be told no more in commendation of theſe poems, than that they are Mr. Waller's: a name that carries every thing in it that is either great or graceful in Poetry! He was indeed the

* "Atterbury was thought to be the author "of the Life of Waller, prefixed to the firſt oc- "tavo edition of that poet's works." Dr. WARTON, Eſſay on Pope, vol. II. p. 436.—This amiable writer has very evidently confounded the "Life" of Waller, which is a performance every way unworthy the pen of Dr. Atterbury, with the "Preface" here preſerved, which undoubtedly was his. Mr. Fenton, from whoſe quarto edition I now tranſcribe it, ſays, "It is generally known "to have been written by a perſon whoſe fine "genius and conſummate learning have long "rendered him one of the brighteſt ornaments of "our age: and though it was a caſual eſſay, "compoſed in his youth, it is too finiſhed a maſ- "ter-piece for me to have expected either pardon "or praiſe had I attempted another diſſertation." The Preface to the former part, in 1664, is ſuppoſed to have been written by Waller himſelf.

Parent

Parent of Engliſh Verſe, and the firſt that ſhewed us our tongue had beauty and numbers in it. Our language owes more to him than the French does to Cardinal Richelieu and the whole Academy. A Poet cannot think of him without being in the ſame rapture Lucretius* is in when Epicurus comes in his way:

Tu pater, & rerum inventor; tu patria nobis
Suppeditas præcepta: tuiſque ex, Inclute! chartis,
Floriferis ut apes in ſaltibus omnia libant,
Omnia nos itidem depaſcimur aurea dicta;
Aurea! perpetuâ ſemper digniſſima vitâ!

The tongue came into his hands like a rough diamond: he poliſhed it firſt; and to that degree, that all artiſts ſince him have admired the workmanſhip, without pretending to mend it. Suckling and Carew, I muſt confeſs, wrote ſome few things ſmoothly enough: but as all they did in this kind was not very conſiderable, ſo it was a little later than the earlieſt pieces of Mr. Waller. He undoubtedly ſtands firſt in the liſt of refiners; and, for aught I know, laſt too: for I queſtion whether in Charles the Second's

* Book III. ver. 9.

reign Engliſh did not come to its full perfection; and whether it has not had its Auguſtean age, as well as the Latin. It ſeems to be already mixed with foreign languages as far as its purity will bear; and, as Chemiſts ſay of their menſtruums, to be quite fated with the infuſion. But poſterity will beſt judge of this. In the mean time, it is a ſurpriſing reflection that between what Spenſer wrote laſt, and Waller firſt, there ſhould not be much above twenty years diſtance: and yet the one's language, like the money of that time, is as current now as ever; whilſt the other's words are like old coins, one muſt go to an Antiquary to underſtand their true meaning and value. Such advances may a great Genius make, when it undertakes any thing in earneſt!

Some Painters will hit the chief lines and maſter-ſtrokes of a face ſo truly, that through all the differences of age the picture ſhall ſtill bear a reſemblance. This art was Mr. Waller's: he ſought out, in this flowing tongue of ours, what parts would laſt, and be of ſtanding uſe and ornament: and this he did ſo ſucceſsfully, that his language is now as freſh as it was at firſt ſetting out. Were we

to

to judge barely by the wording, we could not know what was wrote at twenty, and what at fourſcore. He complains, indeed, of a tide of words that comes in upon the Engliſh Poet, and overflows whatever he builds; but this was leſs his caſe than any man's that ever wrote; and the miſchief of it is, this very complaint will laſt long enough to confute itſelf; for, though Engliſh be mouldering ſtone, as he tells us there, yet he has certainly picked the beſt out of a bad quarry.

We are no leſs beholden to him for the new turn of verſe which he brought in, and the improvement he made in our numbers. Before his time, men rhymed indeed, and that was all: as for the harmony of meaſure, and that dance of words which good ears are ſo much pleaſed with, they knew nothing of it. Their poetry then was made up almoſt entirely of monoſyllables; which, when they come together in any cluſter, are certainly the moſt harſh untunable things in the world. If any man doubts of this, let him read ten lines in Donne, and he will be quickly convinced. Beſides, their verſes ran all into one another; and hung together, through-

throughout a whole copy, like the hooked atoms that compoſe a body in Des Cartes. There was no diſtinction of parts, no regular ſtops, nothing for the ear to reſt upon; but, as ſoon as the copy began, down it went, like a larum, inceſſantly; and the reader was ſure to be out of breath before he got to the end of it. So that really verſe in thoſe days was but down-right proſe tagged with rhymes. Mr. Waller removed all theſe faults; brought in more polyſyllables, and ſmoother meaſures; bound up his thoughts better; and in a cadence more agreeable to the nature of the verſe he wrote in: ſo that wherever the natural ſtops of that were, he contrived the little breakings of his ſenſe ſo as to fall in with them. And for that reaſon, ſince the ſtreſs of our verſe lies commonly upon the laſt ſyllable, you will hardly ever find him uſing a word of no force there. I would ſay, if I were not afraid the reader would think me too nice, that he commonly cloſes with verbs, in which we know the life of language conſiſts.

Among other improvements, we may reckon that of his rhymes: which are always good, and very often the better for being new.

He

He had a fine ear, and knew how quickly that ſenſe was cloyed by the ſame round of chiming words ſtill returning upon it. It is a decided caſe by the great Maſter of writing *, "Quæ ſunt ampla & pulchra, diu "placere poſſunt; quæ lepida & concinna" (amongſt which rhyme muſt, whether it will or no, take its place) "citò ſatietate afficiunt "aurium ſenſum faſtidioſiſſimum." This he underſtood very well; and therefore, to take off the danger of a ſurfeit that way, ſtrove to pleaſe by variety and new ſounds. Had he carried this obſervation, among others, as far as it would go, it muſt, methinks, have ſhown him the incurable fault of this jingling kind of poetry; and have led his later judgement to blank verſe. But he continued an obſtinate lover of rhyme to the very laſt: it was a miſtreſs that never appeared unhandſome in his eyes; and was courted by him long after Sachariſſa was forſaken. He had raiſed it, and brought it to that perfection we now enjoy it in: and the Poet's temper (which has always a little vanity in it) would not ſuffer him ever to ſlight a thing he had

* Cicero ad Herennium, l. iv.

taken

taken ſo much pains to adorn. My Lord Roſcommon was more impartial: no man ever rhymed truer and evener than he; yet, he is ſo juſt as to confeſs, that it is but a trifle; and to wiſh the tyrant dethroned, and blank verſe ſet up in its room. There is a third perſon *, the living glory of our Engliſh poetry, who has diſclaimed the uſe of it upon the ſtage, though no man ever employed it there ſo happily as he. It was the ſtrength of his genius that firſt brought it into credit in plays; and it is the force of his example that has thrown it out again. In other kinds of writing it continues ſtill, and will do ſo till ſome excellent Spirit ariſes that has leiſure enough and reſolution to break the charm, and free us from the troubleſome bondage of rhyming, as Mr. Milton very well calls it; and has proved it as well by what he has wrote in another way †. But this is

* Mr. Dryden.

† Tonſon, in his Dedication to Lord Somers, ſays, that it was his Lordſhip's opinion and encouragement that occaſioned the firſt appearance of Paradiſe Loſt in the folio edition. This aſſertion Bp. Atterbury (in a MS note on Milton) denies, and ſays that *He* was the perſon who firſt propoſed and gave occaſion to that publication.—

I have

is a thought for times at ſome diſtance; the preſent age is a little too warlike; it may perhaps furniſh out matter for a good poem in the next, but it will hardly encourage one now: without propheſying, a man may eaſily know what ſort of laurels are like to be in requeſt.

Whilſt I am talking of verſe, I find myſelf, I do not know how, betrayed into a great deal of proſe. I intended no more than to put the reader in mind what reſpect was due to any thing that fell from the pen of Mr. Waller. I have heard his laſt printed copies, which are added in the ſeveral editions of his poems, very ſlightly ſpoken of; but certainly they do not deſerve it. They do indeed diſcover themſelves to be his laſt, and that is

I have not myſelf ſeen the note on which this aſſertion is founded: but it is told me on the recollection of a friend on whoſe accuracy the fulleſt dependance may be placed.—It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that Butler's Poſthumous Works had alſo the advantage of being inſpected in MS. by Atterbury, as we learn from Mr. Thyer; who, from that circumſtance, takes occaſion to inſinuate a charge of plagiariſm againſt Swift, to whom he ſuppoſes Atterbury might have communicated the nature and ſubjects of the MSS. See Swift's Works, large 8vo, vol. XXIV. p. 596.

the

the worſt we can ſay of them. He is there,

Jam ſenior; ſed cruda Deo viridiſque ſenectus *.

The ſame cenſure perhaps will be paſſed on the pieces of this ſecond part. I ſhall not ſo far engage for them, as to pretend they are all equal to whatever he wrote in the vigour of his youth: yet, they are ſo much of a piece with the reſt, that any man will at firſt ſight know them to be Mr. Waller's. Some of them were wrote very early, but not put into former collections, for reaſons obvious enough, but which are now ceaſed. The play was altered to pleaſe the court: it is not to be doubted who ſat for the two brothers' characters. It was agreeable to the ſweetneſs of Mr. Waller's temper, to ſoften the rigour of the tragedy, as he expreſſes it: but whether it be ſo agreeable to the nature of tragedy itſelf to make every thing come off eaſily, I leave to the critics. In the prologue and epilogue there are a few verſes that he has made uſe of upon another occaſion: but

* Virg. Æn. vi. 304.
"Though old, ſtill unimpair'd by years he ſtood."
PITT.

the reader may be pleaſed to allow that in him that has been allowed ſo long in Homer and Lucretius. Exact writers dreſs up their thoughts ſo very well always, that, when they have need of the ſame ſenſe, they cannot put it into other words, but it muſt be to its prejudice. Care has been taken, in this book, to get together every thing of Mr. Waller's that is not put into the former collection: ſo that between both the reader may make the ſet complete.

It will perhaps be contended after all, that ſome of theſe ought not to have been publiſhed: and Mr. Cowley's deciſion * will be urged, that a neat tomb of marble is a better monument than a great pile of rubbiſh. It might be anſwered to this, that the pictures and poems of great maſters have been always valued, though the laſt hand were not put to them. And I believe none of thoſe gentlemen that will make the objection would refuſe a ſketch of Raphael's, or one of Titian's draughts of the firſt ſitting. I might tell them too what care has been taken by the learned to preſerve the frag-

* In the Preface to his Works.

ments

ments of the antient Greek and Latin poets: there has been thought to be a divinity in what they ſaid; and therefore the leaſt pieces of it have been kept up and reverenced like religious reliques. And, I am ſure, take away the *mille anni**, and impartial reaſoning will tell us there is as much due to the memory of Mr. Waller as to the moſt celebrated names of antiquity.

But, to waive the diſpute now of what *ought* to have been done; I can aſſure the reader what *would* have been, had this edition been delayed. The following poems were got abroad, and in a great many hands: it were vain to expect that, amongſt ſo many admirers of Mr. Waller, they ſhould not meet with one fond enough to publiſh them. They might have ſtaid, indeed, till by frequent tranſcriptions they had been corrupted extremely, and jumbled together with things

* Alluding to that verſe in Juvenal,

—— Et uni cedit Homero
Propter mille annos —— . Sat. vii.

"And yields to Homer on no other ſcore
"Than that he liv'd a thouſand years before."
C. DRYDEN.

of another kind: but then they would have found their way into the world. So it was thought a greater piece of kindneſs to the Author to put them out whilſt they continue genuine and unmixed; and ſuch as he himſelf, were he alive, might own.

LETTER from the Earl of SUNDERLAND * to Dr. CHETWOOD, Dean of Glouceſter.

SIR, Whitehall, Nov. 11, 1708.

I Depend upon your goodneſs to pardon this trouble, which I ſhould not give you were it not upon a public account. The Con-

* This Letter is preſerved, in order to elucidate an important period of Dr. Atterbury's hiſtory. It appears, from the anxiety expreſſed by the leaders of the Whig Miniſtry, that he was conſidered as a moſt formidable adverſary; and their champion Abel Boyer acknowledges that the Convocation was unexpectedly prorogued on purpoſe that Atterbury might not be elected Prolocutor. In 1710, however, the Ruling Powers were changed; and Dr. Atterbury ſecured the office by a great majority, though Dean Kennet very ſtrenuouſly oppoſed him. The new Prolocutor was preſented to the Archbiſhop Dec. 6, 1710; on which occaſion the elegant ſpeeches of Atterbury and Smalridge (vol. I. p. 303—318) were addreſſed to the Metropolitan. On the Sunday following (Dec. 10.) Mr. Harley invited Dr. Atterbury to dine with him, on purpoſe (if poſſible) to obviate any difference that might ariſe between the two Houſes of Convocation. Two days after, the Archbiſhop was honoured with a letter from the Queen, with the ſame conciliatory views; which her Majeſty had

Convocation, you know, meets upon to-morrow ſevennight, where there will be two competitors ſet up for the chair of Prolocutor, Dr. Atterbury, and Dr. Willis dean of Lincoln. As for the firſt, his character is too well known for me to ſay any thing to it: the latter, I will venture to ſay, is qualified with all the abilities neceſſary for ſuch a poſt, as well as of known zeal for her Majeſty's government, and the Eſtabliſhed Church; and of ſuch a temper and prudence as would tend towards healing the diviſions in the Church, rather than widening of them. I have ventured to give you my opinion very frankly; and if you are of the ſame, I hope

the mortification to ſee fruſtrated by an altercation about a joint addreſs, which occaſioned ſome further prorogations. On the 28th of February following, the Convocation (which, from various miſunderſtandings, attributed by Burnet principally to Dr. Atterbury, who had the confidence of the Chief Miniſter, had till then been interrupted) reſumed their deliberations; of which the moſt material were the Meſſage to the Houſe of Commons on the want of Pariſh Churches in London, and the Repreſentation of the preſent State of Religion. As both thoſe papers were undoubtedly drawn up by Dr. Atterbury, they are preſerved in the preſent collection.

you

you will be in town by the time appointed for the meeting of the Convocation; and if you could engage Archdeacon Parſons in the ſame intereſt, it would be a double ſervice to the public. I beg pardon for this trouble; and ſhall be glad of all occaſions of ſhewing with how much truth and eſteem I am, Sir, your moſt faithful humble ſervant,

SUNDERLAND.

MESSAGE from the Lower Houſe of Convocation to the Speaker* of the Houſe of Commons.

Feb. 28, 1710-11.

IT was ordered by the Lower Houſe of Convocation, That the Prolocutor, attended by Dr. Stanhope, Dean of Canterbury;

* William Bromley, Eſq. the particular friend of Dr. Atterbury (ſee vol. I. p. 26.)—Mr. Bromley was choſen Speaker of the Houſe of Commons at the ſame time that Dr. Atterbury was elected Prolocutor.—His ſon Clobery Bromley, Eſq. died March 20, 1710-11; on which occaſion the Houſe adjourned for four days, "out of reſpect to the "father, and to give him time, both to perform "the funeral rites, and to indulge his juſt af-"fliction."

Dr. Stanley, Archdeacon of London; Dr. Smalridge, Proctor for the Chapter of Litchfield; and Dr. Delaune, Proctor for the Dioceſe of Oxford, ſhould wait upon Mr. Speaker of the Honourable Houſe of Commons, and impart to him the following meſſage, agreed to by the ſaid Houſe *nemine contradicente.*

THO. ROUSE, *Actuar'*
Domus Infer' Convocationis.

MR. SPEAKER,

THE Lower Houſe of Convocation have, with great ſatisfaction, taken notice of an inſtruction given by the Honourable Houſe of Commons to a Committee [appointed to examine a petition of the Miniſter and Churchwardens of Greenwich, praying relief for the rebuilding of that church] to conſider what Churches are wanting within the cities of London and Weſtminſter, and ſuburbs thereof, and report the ſame to the Houſe.

It was in our thoughts to have done what in us lay towards ſetting forward ſo pious a deſign; but we are glad to find ourſelves happily prevented by the zeal of that Honourable Houſe; which, at the time that they

placed

placed you in the chair, gave us an earneſt of their entire diſpoſition to do every thing that might be for the honour and advantage of the Church of England.

We do, in the name of the whole Clergy of this Province, return our unanimous thanks to the Honourable the Commons, for this inſtance of the affectionate regard they have ſhewn to the welfare of the Eſtabliſhed Church, and the common intereſt of Religion *.

MR. SPEAKER,

I am directed by the Clergy of the Lower Houſe of Convocation to ſignify their readineſs to promote the work now in view, by im-

* In conſequence of this meſſage, the Commons reſolved, "That this Houſe will receive all ſuch informations as ſhall be offered to them from the Clergy of the Lower Houſe of Convocation, with relation to the want of Churches in the cities of London and Weſtminſter, and ſuburbs thereof. Secondly, That this Houſe will, in all matters immediately relating to Religion, and the welfare of the Eſtabliſhed Church, have a particular regard to ſuch applications as ſhall at any time be made to them from the Clergy in Convocation aſſembled, according to the antient uſage, together with the Parliament."

On the 10th of March the Speaker acquainted the Commons, "That the day before, in the even-

imparting ſuch lights as they are able to afford, in relation to the extreme want of churches in and about theſe populous cities, under which we at preſent labour.

FRANCIS ATTERBURY, Prolocutor.

evening, Mr. Prolocutor of the Lower Houſe of Convocation came to him, and, by their order, delivered to him a ſcheme of the number of churches and chapels, and meeting-houſes, within twenty-ſeven of thoſe pariſhes in and near the cities of London and Weſtminſter, and the ſuburbs thereof, where additional churches were judged to be moſt wanted; together with a probable calculation of the number of families and ſouls within thoſe ſeveral pariſhes, which they deſired might be laid before this houſe:" And the title thereof being read, the ſaid ſcheme was referred to the conſideration of a Committee already appointed for that buſineſs.

On the 29th of March a meſſage was ſent from the Queen; and on the 6th of April the Houſe of Commons reſolved, "That, in the ſeveral pariſhes in and about the ſuburbs of the cities of London and Weſtminſter, fifty new churches are neceſſary to be erected, for the reception of all ſuch as are of the communion of the Church of England, computing 4750 ſouls to each church."

REPRE-

OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC

REPRESENTATION

OF THE

STATE OF RELIGION;

Drawn up by a joint Committee of both Houſes of Convocation *, in March, 1710-11.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

WE, the Archbiſhop, the Biſhops, and the Clergy, of the Province of Canterbury, in Convocation aſſembled, are deeply ſenſible

* The Convocation (as Bp. Burnet repreſents the matter) having entered on the conſideration of the matters referred to them by the Queen; and a Committee being appointed to draw up a Repreſentation of the preſent State of the Church and of Religion in the nation; after ſome heads were agreed on, Atterbury procured that the drawing up of this might be left to him. The Lower Houſe, he adds, agreed to Atterbury's draught; but the Biſhops laid it aſide, and ordered another Repreſentation to be drawn. But it was not ſettled which of theſe two draughts ſhould be made uſe of, or whether any Repreſentation at all ſhould be made

to

ſenſible of the many bleſſings and advantages of your gracious and proſperous reign: amongſt which there is none that more affects us than the tender care and concern ſhewn by your Majeſty for the flouriſhing ſtate of Religion, and the godly zeal you have expreſſed againſt the wicked practices of thoſe who, by looſe and prophane principles openly propagated among your ſubjects, have endeavoured to undermine and deſtroy it.

to the Queen. Abel Boyer, in his "Memoirs of "Queen Anne," ſpeaking of this affair, tells us, "The leading men among the Clergy, eſpecially thoſe who ſought after honour and preferment, were zealous to go hand in hand with the new Miniſtry, and to ſtrengthen the Houſe of Commons in all their hot proceedings. Among others, Dr. Atterbury had a deep ſhare in this buſineſs, and led moſt of the clergy by his pretended zeal for their intereſts. This Repreſentation was very long, and contained a great deal concerning the atheiſm and irreligion of the times, which they aſcribed chiefly to the late growth of hereſy and ſchiſm, and to the printing of wicked and atheiſtical books, which tended to promote many dangerous opinions; the fault being laid chiefly on thoſe who had been lately in power." The Repreſentation in queſtion, though never preſented, was yet printed and diſperſed; and ſoon after was attacked in a pamphlet, intituled, "The Nation vindicated from "the Aſperſions caſt on it in a late pamphlet, in-"tituled, A Repreſentation of the Preſent State "of Religion, &c."

We

We are thankful to ALMIGHTY GOD, who hath put it into your Royal heart to repreſs theſe daring and impious attempts; and for that end to call upon your Clergy for their council and aſſiſtance.

It is, on many accounts, our duty to do the utmoſt that in us lies towards promoting ſo excellent a work. We have, therefore, applied ourſelves with diligence to conſider the matters to us referred; and do now, in obedience to your Royal commands, humbly lay before your Majeſty,

A REPRESENTATION of the preſent State of Religion among us, with regard to the late exceſſive Growth of Infidelity, Hereſy, and Prophaneneſs.

WE cannot, without unſpeakable grief, reflect on that deluge of impiety and licentiouſneſs which hath broke in upon us, and overſpread the face of this Church and Kingdom, eminent in former times for purity of faith and ſobriety of manners.

The ſource of theſe great evils, as far back as we have traced it, ſeems to have been, that long unnatural Rebellion, which looſened all the bands of diſcipline and order, and overturned

turned the goodly frame of our eccleſiaſtical and civil conſtitution.

The hypocriſy, enthuſiaſm, and variety of wild and monſtrous errors, which abounded during thoſe confuſions, begat in the minds of men (too eaſily carried into extremes) a diſregard for the very appearances of Religion, and ended in a ſpirit of downright libertiniſm and prophaneneſs, which hath ever ſince too much prevailed among us. It was, indeed, checked and kept under for a time, by the legal reſtraints laid on the preſs, and by the juſt dread of Popery, which hung over our heads: but as ſoon as theſe fears were removed, and thoſe reſtraints were taken off, it broke out with the greateſt freedom and violence.

There have not been wanting, GOD be praiſed, the hearty endeavours of good men, to reſiſt the growth of theſe ſpreading evils. Books have been written in defence of the fundamental truths, whether of Natural or Revealed Religion, with great clearneſs and ſtrength of argument; the vain pleas of the ſeveral advocates for infidelity have been particularly conſidered and refuted; ſocieties have been formed, and funds of charity raiſed,

for

for the propagation of our holy faith, for the pious education of poor children, and for the increaſe of Chriſtian knowledge, by plain and uſeful diſcourſes, diſtributed among the meaner ſort with great variety and number. Authority hath often interpoſed for the countenancing theſe excellent deſigns, for withſtanding the bold attempts, and preventing the farther increaſe of irreligion and prophaneneſs. To this end, royal injunctions and proclamations have iſſued, acts of parliament have paſſed, proſecutions at law have been ordered, gracious ſpeeches from the Throne have been made; and from thence ſuch bright patterns of piety and virtue have ſhone forth as would, in any age leſs profligate than this, have diffuſed their happy influence through all orders of men among us.

But it muſt be confeſſed, that all the endeavours which may hitherto have been uſed, by public or private perſons, to ſtop the growth of this evil, have proved ineffectual. In the midſt of ſuch diſcouragements, infidelity hath taken deep root, and, being cultivated with care, hath ſpread its branches wide, and ſhot up to an amazing height, and brought forth fruits in great abundance.

We

We forbear to wound your pious ears by a particular mention of thoſe many blaſphemous paſſages which have been publiſhed from the preſs. Nevertheleſs, in diſcharge of the truſt repoſed in us by your Majeſty, we think ourſelves obliged to lay before you ſome account of the various ſteps taken to undermine the foundations of Chriſtianity, and to infect the minds of your people with Atheiſm, Deiſm, Hereſy, and every pernicious and deſtructive error. We ſhall proceed afterwards to conſider the dark and ſubtle METHODS by which this myſtery of iniquity hath been carried on; to enquire into the cauſes which have chiefly and moſt immediately given birth to it, and into the conſequences with which it has been attended; and then, in all humility, to propoſe ſuch remedies as we think may be moſt effectual for the cure of it.

The diſpute with our enemies of the Church of Rome (managed with ſo much honour and advantage to the Church of England) was no ſooner happily ended, but other adverſaries aroſe, who openly attacked the fundamental articles of the Catholick Faith, and

ſcattered the poiſon of Arian and Socinian hereſies through all the parts of this kingdom.

The doctrine of a Trinity of Perſons in the Unity of the GODHEAD was then denied and ſcoffed at; the ſatisfaction made for the ſins of mankind by the precious blood of CHRIST was renounced and exploded; the ancient Creeds of the Church were repreſented as unwarrantable impoſitions, and treated with terms of the utmoſt contumely and reproach. And the divulgers of theſe wicked errors and blaſphemies proceeded with as little diſguiſe and caution as if ſome new law had been made in their favour; notwithſtanding that care had been taken, by thoſe who paſſed the Act of Indulgence, expreſsly to exclude THEM from the benefit of it.

In defiance of this act, and of all the laws then in force, they not only owned their peſtilent errors, but ſet up for making proſelytes, by a multitude of wicked books and pamphlets, which for ſome years they diſperſed from the preſs, without controul or diſcouragement.

They at laſt proceeded ſo far as even to ſet up a Religious Aſſembly, where divine

worſhip was publicly performed in a way agreeable to the principles of the Unitarians, and weekly ſermons were preached in defence of them.

Nor have theſe Hereticks been with-held by the public notice lately taken of their wicked poſition, from venting them anew, and with yet greater boldneſs. Even at the time when we are thus met by your Majeſty's writ, and exhorted by your gracious letter, to conſult of methods for repreſſing ſuch impieties, a book hath been printed, wherein the Arian doctrine is avowed and maintained, and a promiſe is made of evincing the truth of it, by large and elaborate proofs, in other treatiſes from the ſame hand, which are ſoon to follow. To this book the author * hath prefixed his name, and hath not been afraid to dedicate it to the Archbiſhop, Biſhops, and Clergy of this Province in Convocation aſſembled; being, as we have ſome reaſon to believe, ſupported in this undertaking, and encouraged to proſecute it, by the liberal contributions and inſidious applauſes of thoſe who are the determined enemies of all religion and goodneſs.

* Mr. Whiſton.

It

It was by ſuch men as theſe that the Socinian tracts, when firſt publiſhed, were much countenanced and recommended: for they well knew, that, the chief articles of the Chriſtian faith being once ſhaken, a way would by that means be opened, and the minds of men prepared, for the attacks which might afterwards be made on Chriſtianity itſelf, and into which the Socinian controverſy ſoon was improved.

For the books written in an argumentative way againſt the Divinity of our bleſſed LORD did, in a little time, produce others of a worſe ſpirit and tendency; wherein the doctrines by him revealed were ſpoken of with profane levity and contempt, his humiliation and ſufferings were derided, his perſon was blaſphemed, and treated with as great indignity and ſcorn as when he ſtood at the judgement-ſeat of Pilate.

The Godhead of the HOLY SPIRIT being firſt denied, all ſupernatural operations on the hearts of men were afterwards queſtioned, and the grace of GOD was ridiculed; all myſteries in Religion were exploded, as abſurd and uſeleſs ſpeculations, as implying contradictions, and meaning nothing, and therefore

as incapable of becoming objects of aſſent to reaſonable minds.

The ſcheme of morality propoſed by the Goſpel was undervalued, and ſaid not to be beyond the reach of human invention; the Moſaic account of the Creation was repreſented as mere allegory and fable; the natural immortality of the ſoul was oppoſed, as a vulgar and groundleſs error; the inſpiration of holy writ was ſo explained as amounted to the denial of it; the authority of the preſent canon of Scripture hath been repreſented as ſtanding upon a very precarious foundation; the ſpuriouſneſs of ſeveral paſſages, and ſome books of it, was more than inſinuated. Prieſts without diſtinction were traduced, as impoſers on the credulity of mankind, vilified and inſulted, as the filth and off-ſcowring of all things; and thoſe religious ordinances which they were appointed to diſpenſe, even the chief of them, Baptiſm and the Supper of the LORD, were ſpoken of with ſuch a degree of ungodly mockery and inſolent ſcorn, as filled the hearts of good Chriſtians with horror and aſtoniſhment. Nay, Religion itſelf was, in ſome of their looſe writings, ſo de-

deſcribed, as if it were nothing but a melancholy frenzy and pious enthuſiaſm.

The grounds of believing the Goſpel in this age have been repreſented as leſs firm and certain by a pretended calculation of the degrees, according to which the credibility of the traditional facts related in Scripture muſt every age decreaſe. The neceſſity of all human thoughts and actions, as being meer modes of motion, and the reſults of pure mechaniſm, hath been aſſerted: an aſſertion which overturns the foundations of all Religion, whether natural or inſtituted; and renders all notions of good and evil, of reward and puniſhment, whether in this life or the next, groundleſs and vain.

Nor ought we, among the ſeveral inſtances of infidelity, and of the approaches made towards it, to omit the mention of thoſe damnable errors which have been embraced and propagated by the ſect of Quakers; who, in ſeveral of their treatiſes, in their Catechiſms and Primers, have taught the rudiments of the Chriſtian Faith in ſuch a manner, as to make it ſeem to be little more than a complicated ſyſtem of Deiſm and Enthuſiaſm.

From the wicked principles thus diſſeminated as wicked practices have followed: for though it may with truth be affirmed, that the good Chriſtians among us were never better than now; yet can it not withal be denied, that the bad were never worſe; and that the inſtances of a profane and diſſolute behaviour have of late years been very numerous and very ſcandalous.

The frequency of oaths and imprecations, the manifeſt growth of immorality and profaneneſs, have made new laws, new edicts, neceſſary to reſtrain theſe enormities, which yet have not been effectually reſtrained by them.

Seldom hath greater vigilance been uſed by the civil magiſtrate to ſecure a religious obſervance of the Lord's-day; nor hath it, among the meaner ſort, proved unſucceſsful. However, it hath not baniſhed exceſs and luxury at ſuch times from the tables of the great, nor hindered them from waſting thoſe ſacred hours in play and vain amuſements.

The exceſſes of gaming have never been more general and flagrant; conſcience hath never been more openly proſtituted to intereſt,

reſt, without any regard to cenſure; the extremes of avarice and profuſion have never, at the ſame point of time, been more remarkably prevalent.

A due regard to religious perſons, places, and things, hath ſcarce in any age been more wanting. The miniſters of CHRIST have often been treated in a way very unſuitable to their ſacred function and character; horrid outrages have been committed by looſe and diſorderly perſons in the houſe of GOD; the ſolemn Feaſts and Humiliations of the Church have been matter of ſport to lewd and godleſs men, who have taken pleaſure in ridiculing them, and affronting the authority by which they were appointed: unnatural and abominable impurities, not to be named among Chriſtians, have been publickly practiſed; and the debauches of licentious men have been indulged to ſuch a height, as to end in all manner of blaſphemy and profaneneſs.

This ſad harveſt we have reaped from thoſe ſeeds of infidelity which the enemy have ſown among us: with what induſtry and zeal, by what dark and ſubtle methods, this

myſtery of iniquity hath been carried on, we beg leave in the next place to repreſent.

That contributions have been made, that combinations of men have been formed, for promoting the cauſe of infidelity, we have heard; nor do we doubt the truth of thoſe reports: having obſerved, that late meaſures taken to advance irreligion have been, in many reſpects, ſo uniform and regular, that they ſeem to have been concerted; not to have ſprung merely from the caſual contradiction and divided efforts of particular perſons, but rather to have been the reſult of united counſels and endeavours.

Thus, we are ſure, the Socinians and Quakers took care of the intereſts of their ſeveral ſects, and ſpread their diſtinguiſhing tenets: nor do the preſent factors for infidelity and libertiniſm appear to be either leſs zealous for the attaining their end, or leſs ſkilful in the choice and application of the means that lead to it.

The methods they have pitched upon to this purpoſe have been various: ſome of them ſuch as had a more immediate tendency to the point they aimed at; others that were covered

covered with very artificial pretences and diſguiſes.

By mock Catechiſms, framed in a light manner, upon vain and trifling ſubjects, they have endeavoured to depreciate thoſe excellent ſummaries of the Chriſtian Faith, by which a right ſenſe of religious truths is firſt inſtilled into the minds of children.

They have republiſhed, and collected into volumes, pieces written long ago on the ſide of infidelity; which would have lain altogether neglected and forgotten, without ſuch a revival.

They have reprinted together, in the moſt contracted manner, many looſe and licentious poems, in order to their being purchaſed more cheaply, and diſperſed more eaſily; and have, by that means, conveyed the infection to great numbers of men, who would otherwiſe have lain without the reach of it.

They have procured abſtracts and commendations of their own profane writings (and probably drawn up by themſelves) to be inſerted in Foreign Journals; and then have tranſlated them back again into the Engliſh tongue, and publiſhed them here at home,

home, in order to add the greater weight to their wicked opinions.

They have endeavoured utterly to root out of men's minds all notion of a Church, as a ſociety inſtituted by CHRIST, with peculiar powers and privileges, and officers of its own to adminiſter the affairs of it. They have done their utmoſt to blend and confound this ſpiritual ſociety with the temporal, on purpoſe to make every thing in Religion, its divine truths, and moſt ſacred ordinances, dependant on the will of the civil magiſtrate, deriving ſolely from him their ſanction and authority.

And of all Churches, our own is that againſt which they have planted their chief batteries, and directed their fierceſt aſſaults; not as judging it more faulty than others (for they themſelves allow it to be the leaſt exceptionable of any); but as knowing it to be the ſtrongeſt fence and bulwark againſt Infidelity, the principal pillar and ſtay of pure undefiled Religion.

They have therefore charged the authentic Articles of this Church, and the Engliſh editions of the Bible, with pious frauds and forgery;

gery; that men might be taught gradually to withdraw the reverence due to their ſpiritual guides, and of courſe to ſuſpect whatever comes recommended from their hands.

As to other ſects and denominations of Chriſtians differing from the Eſtabliſhed Church, and now tolerated among us, the crew of Libertine Writers hath been obſerved to purſue them with a degree of malice and bitterneſs, proportioned always to the degrees of tendency which their reſpective principles have to ſupport and ſtrengthen the intereſts of Religion, by uniting large numbers of Chriſtians in national Churches and Communions.

Sometimes, by diſplaying the cheats and impoſitions of Pagan and Popiſh prieſts, they have endeavoured to draw infamy on the Prieſthood in general, and to render the Order itſelf, in what Religion ſoever it was found, equally the object of public averſion and contempt.

At other times, when wild pretences to inſpiration and miracles have been ſet up by modern impoſtors, they have ſeemed to countenance the fraud, and give credit to it; with a view

a view of drawing parallels from thence, to the prejudice of real Inſpirations and Miracles.

They have, in a grave and ſolemn manner, recounted the fabulous relations of miracles occurring in Heathen Writers; they have repreſented theſe accounts as carrying ſome of the chief marks and ſignatures of truth; and eaſier to be contemned than diſproved, upon the foot of the arguments urged in behalf of the truth of Chriſtianity.

They have, with oſtentation, enumerated the ſeveral ſpurious treatiſes forged in the earlieſt ages of the Church; which they repreſent as times of great fraud and impoſture on the one hand, of great ignorance and credulity on the other; and they have left this reflection to be applied by their readers to the Books of the New Teſtament, and the authors of them.

The promiſes of Scripture have, by one of theſe writers, been interpreted in ſuch an extravagant and abſurd ſenſe, as was intended to render them uncertain and unintelligible; and a plea hath been advanced in behalf of the privilege of being tranſlated to heaven without

without dying, according to the terms of the Covenant of Grace, with a deſign to inſinuate, that our title to the other privileges and promiſes of the Goſpel is founded on no ſurer a bottom.

Under the cover of accounting for the growth of Deiſm, and ſpecifying the cauſes of it, they have taken occaſion to ſuggeſt all thoſe bitter and ſpiteful reflections which they thought might redound to the diſhonour of our holy Religion, and wound it through the ſides of its profeſſed ſervants and followers.

Their received maxim is, that "no good "is to be expected from eccleſiaſticks, but by "their diviſions;" and therefore, if differences happen at any time to ariſe among the Clergy, their conſtant practice hath been to foment and inflame them, by turning advocates for the one ſide againſt the other; whereas, in truth, they themſelves were alike enemies to both, and were alſo in like manner deteſted by both of them.

When particular and unwarrantable opinions have, at any time, been maintained by men otherwiſe eminent for piety and learning,

ing, the friends of infidelity have not failed to lay hold of that opportunity, and improve it to the prejudice of Religion. Thoſe very perſons, whoſe learned labours in defence of our common Faith they had before undervalued, and held in the utmoſt contempt, they began now to extol, and pretended to revere for the ſake of their errors; their deep judgement they admired, their integrity they magnified, and appealed to their authority as deciſive in favour of a paradox, when they would have refuſed to be concluded by it in any other point whatſoever.

We pretend not to have made a full diſcovery of all the dark and ſubtle wiles by which the inſtruments of Satan have endeavoured to eſtabliſh his kingdom, and to introduce a general looſeneſs of principles and practices among us: but theſe, which we have now laid before your Majeſty, are too obvious and manifeſt not to be obſerved and complained of by us.

However, neither theſe, nor any other wicked arts and methods, how craftily ſoever contrived, and how induſtriouſly ſoever purſued, would have met with ſo remarkable

ſucceſs,

ſucceſs, had not other cauſes and circumſtances concurred to help forward the event, and favour the growth of irreligious opinions.

Among the chief of theſe, we reckon the removal of that reſtraint which the wiſdom of former times had laid upon the preſs; and which no ſooner ceaſed, than thoſe pernicious principles, that before had been whiſpered only in corners, among the diſſolute and lawleſs, were now proclaimed in our ſtreets, and ſent abroad to pollute the minds of your Majeſty's ſubjects in all parts of your dominions.

The meaneſt and moſt ignorant of the people, who had any degree of curioſity and leiſure, were then tempted to employ it in ſearches for which they were no ways qualified; they were furniſhed every day from the preſs with objections againſt Religion; and taught to doubt of thoſe truths, which it had otherwiſe never once entered into their hearts to queſtion.

This general liberty of the preſs happened not long after the time when, by reaſon of confuſions and diſorders that uſually attend great changes of ſtate, the reins of government

ment were unavoidably ſlackened, and parties of men were ſuffered to expreſs their mutual reſentments, and manage their debates againſt each other, with a freedom not often permitted or practiſed in more quiet and ſettled times. Mean while, the indulgence granted to men, of worſhiping GOD in their own way, incited ſome publickly, and with warmth, to eſpouſe thoſe religious opinions, which others thought themſelves bound, with equal warmth, to oppoſe. Theſe contentions in matters of a civil and ſacred nature bred in the minds of men, not well grounded in true principles, great perplexities and doubts; and gave an opportunity to thoſe who "ſat in the ſeat of the ſcornful," to promote the intereſts of Scepticiſm and Infidelity, by making ſport with our diviſions.

The licentiouſneſs of the Stage is another fountain from whence the preſent corruptions of Religion and Morality have flowed. On our Theatres things ſacred and ſerious have been handled after the moſt ludicrous manner; the Prieſthood, the Holy Offices and Ceremonies of our Church, have been expoſed to ſcorn; obſcenity, blaſphemous alluſions

alluſions to Holy Writ, and various ſorts of profaneneſs have abounded: the worſt examples have been placed in the beſt lights, and recommended to imitation; and the vicious images thus painted to the life, and ſet out with all manner of advantage, have made ſuch impreſſions on the minds of the young and the unwary as are not eaſy to be effaced.

For the better diffuſing the infection, new theatres have been raiſed; and, at the opening of them (an expenſive and magnificent ſtructure) the building of Churches was impiouſly derided as a vain and uſeleſs work, the effect only of ſuperſtition and ignorance.

God be thanked, at that very time a different ſpirit prevailed; and great ſums of money were by public authority provided, and applied for the building, ſupporting, and adorning of Churches: and we cannot but hope but this glorious work, which your Majeſty, at our humble requeſt, was graciouſly pleaſed to recommend to your Parliament; in the advancement of which the zeal of your Parliament, influenced by that of your Majeſty, hath already made ſo great

a progreſs, will be ſpeedily accompliſhed by an ample proviſion for the wants of that kind, under which the inhabitants of theſe two populous cities have hitherto laboured. They have now, for a long track of time, year after year, exceedingly increaſed, without a proportionable increaſe of the Churches and Chapels appointed to receive them: by which means vaſt numbers of ſouls have been excluded from a poſſibility of attending on the public worſhip of GOD, and from all the benefits of Chriſtian inſtruction. And the natural conſequence of this hath been a gradual defection from Piety and Virtue to irreligious Ignorance, and all manner of looſe and licentious living.

To the increaſe of which they alſo contributed who took occaſion, from the relaxation of thoſe laws which made abſence from the Eſtabliſhed Church penal, to withdraw themſelves entirely from all religious aſſemblies; although that very act of exemption, which gave liberty in the one reſpect, equally reſtrained it in the other.

Nor hath the long continuance of that juſt and neceſſary war, in which your Majeſty is

now

how engaged (and which, we truſt, GOD will enable you to finiſh as gloriouſly as you have hitherto carried it on), been unattended with conſequences prejudicial to the intereſts of Religion and Goodneſs.

That this might not be our own caſe, your Majeſty was pleaſed to uſe your powerful influences with the States of Holland, and to employ your royal bounty for the building of a Church, in which your ſubjects might ſerve GOD abroad with the ſame decency and order as at home, and be inſtructed in ſuch religious principles as might preſerve them from the contagion of thoſe vices to which a military life is too much expoſed. But notwithſtanding this deſign piouſly is intended by your Majeſty, and ſo readily promoted by the liberal contributions of your ſubjects in the army, we cannot but lament that foreign vices, too eaſily learnt in the camp, have from thence ſpread themſelves, by little and little, through the ſeveral ranks of men at home, and occaſioned a viſible increaſe of luxury, libertiniſm, and profaneneſs. Falſe notions of honour have made that reputable, which the religion of CHRIST utterly con-

demns; and that infamous, which it commands under the higheſt penalties: ſo that they who ſtill dare to own themſelves Chriſtians, by not ſending a challenge when affronted, or not accepting it when ſent, are really in a ſtate of perſecution, on the account of their ſtrict adherence to CHRIST and his doctrine. The prevalence of ſuch principles and practices doth, in our humble opinion, tend not only to the diſhonour, but even to the diſbelief of the Goſpel, among thoſe who are either perſuaded that it is lawful and laudable, or, without ſuch a perſuaſion, determined to act in contradiction to the plain precepts of it.

The emiſſaries from Rome have not been wanting to lay hold of this opportunity for the advancement of their cauſe; to which nothing is ſo ſerviceable as ſcepticiſm and looſeneſs of life: and theſe, therefore, they have always encouraged to the beſt of their power. They have ſwarmed in our ſtreets of late years, and have been very buſy in making converts: and, ſince their known way of dealing in ſuch caſes is to bring men round to infallibility by the way of infidelity,

we

we doubt not but their ſubtle arts and reſtleſs endeavours of this kind may be reckoned one cauſe of the preſent growth of Irreligion among us.

Other cauſes have alſo concurred; as, the want of a vigorous execution of thoſe laws, proclamations, and injunctions, which were piouſly framed; and the faint and ineffectual proſecution of ſome notorious offenders; by which means, what was deſigned to curb and reſtrain their inſolence tended rather to heighten and nouriſh it.

Nor are we inſenſible how much Religion hath ſuffered by vain pretences to fathom thoſe depths of Divine Wiſdom which are unſearchable, and to advance nice explications of myſteries which are inexplicable; by the miſapplication of mathematical reaſoning to matters of mere revelation; by the attempts made to ſhew how all the ſteps taken in that great work of Omnipotence, the creation of the world, were to be accounted for by the known laws of motion; and that the deſtruction of it, by the deluge, might in like manner be explained; for the tendency of ſuch attempts hath been to confine the

thoughts of men to ſecond cauſes, and to intimate how little the wiſdom of GOD was concerned in making the world.

But theſe, and ſuch cauſes as theſe, having a leſs general and diſcernible influence towards producing the evils complained of; we have choſen rather to reſt in the conſideration of thoſe which are more extenſive and apparent, and have been remarkably fruitful of the ill conſequences which we are next to lay before your Majeſty.

The diſhonour which the late exceſſive growth of Infidelity, Hereſy, and Profaneneſs, hath brought on our holy Faith, our Church, and Nation, is too great to be diſregarded, and too manifeſt to be diſſembled. The Goſpel cannot but be blemiſhed by this reflection, that at a time when the ſtrongeſt evidences of its Divine Original have been produced, and ſet in the faireſt light, ſo many ſhould revolt from it. Our Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Conſtitution muſt needs undergo reproach; as if we either wanted laws to puniſh ſuch enormities, or zeal to turn the edge of thoſe laws upon daring offenders.

It is lamentable to reflect how many ſouls have been loſt by imbibing wicked doctrines

from

from thoſe books which have been ſcattered for ſeveral years with impunity through this kingdom; how many more are endangered by too near approaches towards infidelity, though they have not as yet actually arrived to it; what a ſpirit of indifferency and neutrality in Religion hath been infuſed through ſuch vehicles into the minds of men, and hath at laſt ſo far prevailed as to become the diſtinguiſhing character of the age we live in.

We doubt not but that divers of your Majeſty's ſubjects, either by the ſcandal ariſing from the late obſervable growth of profaneneſs, or by ſharing the contagion of it, have at laſt been perverted to Popery; and we are ſure that many of them have been made worſe men and worſe ſubjects by the means of it; for Infidelity, where embraced, cancels all the ſtrongeſt obligations of duty, and diſſolves thoſe religious bands of obedience by which the thrones of princes are beſt ſecured, and their authority moſt firmly ſupported. And therefore we cannot but obſerve to your Majeſty, that they who derided Churches, and Creeds, and Myſteries, were

the ſame who inſulted the memory, and juſtified the murder, of the Royal Martyr; applauded the rebellion raiſed againſt him, and have taken a great deal of wicked pains in collecting and publiſhing the works of thoſe writers who were the moſt declared and irreconcileable enemies to Monarchy.

But the worſt conſequences of our impieties is, that they have made us obnoxious to the diſpleaſure of ALMIGHTY GOD; who may juſtly, on their account, be provoked to viſit us with his ſevereſt judgements, by ſtopping the continued current of ſucceſs with which he hath hitherto bleſſed our affairs, and delivering us into the hands of our enemies, by withdrawing the pure light of his Goſpel from us, and letting in the abominations of Popery among us.

Our only comfort under this ſad proſpect is, that, as far and wide as the infection hath ſpread, there are many ſtill left, who continue untainted by it; many who, imitating the pious example ſet by your Majeſty, "hold "faſt the profeſſion of their Faith, without "wavering," and adorn it with all manner of Chriſtian Graces and Virtues, in the midſt

of

of a perverſe and crooked generation. For the mighty growth of Infidelity hath been attended with one good conſequence, among divers ill ones; that the zeal of devout perſons hath thereby been excited to do every thing that in them lay towards reſiſting and ſtemming this torrent of impiety. Nor have their endeavours been fruitleſs; our eyes daily ſee the public and happy effects of them: Divine Service and Sacraments have of late been oftener celebrated, and better frequented, than formerly; the catechiſing of youth hath been more generally practiſed, and with greater ſucceſs: vaſt ſums have been furniſhed by private contributors, to ſuſtain the charge of educating poor children in a pious and uſeful manner; and many other new and noble inſtitutions of charity have been ſet on foot, of which ſome mention was made in the entrance of the account now laid before your Majeſty.

Of theſe we already feel the good influence, and hope that they may hereafter prove a remedy equal to the diſeaſe under which we labour. In the mean time, other methods of redreſſing theſe great miſchiefs may, we humbly

humbly conceive, be ſucceſsfully tried; ſuch as the courſe of the foregoing reflections, and your Majeſty's great wiſdom and piety, have already ſuggeſted to you.

We entertain not the leaſt doubt of your Majeſty's firm reſolution to render the laws and edicts ſet forth for the ſuppreſſion of immorality and profaneneſs uſeful to that purpoſe, by an impartial and vigorous execution of them; and to reform the corruptions of the ſtage, which have been ſo inſtrumental in vitiating young and innocent minds, and have given matter of ſo juſt offence to all ſerious and devout Chriſtians. And we promiſe ourſelves, from the happy application of theſe remedies, which your Majeſty alone is able (and not more able than willing) to apply, great and durable effects.

We are entirely perſuaded, that your Majeſty will, in the moſt effectual manner, diſcountenance all ſuch perſons as are profligate in their lives, or the known abettors or ſpreaders of impious opinions, by excluding them from all marks of your royal favour; and the repeated aſſurances which your Majeſty (whom GOD long preſerve!) hath been

pleaſed

pleaſed to give to your people, of your care to tranſmit the ſucceſſion of the Crown in the Proteſtant line, as eſtabliſhed by law, give us great hopes that our enemies of the Romiſh Communion will at laſt be effectually diſcouraged from attempting the ruin of that excellent Church, of which, under CHRIST, your Majeſty is the chief Governor and glorious Defender.

With inexpreſſible ſatisfaction we reflect upon the noble proviſion made by the preſent Parliament for Fifty New Churches: and we pleaſe ourſelves with a proſpect of the ground which will every day be gained by this means upon Vice and Irreligion; when all excuſes for non-attendance on the public worſhip will be removed, and the law, which makes thoſe who abſtain from all ſorts of religious aſſemblies ſtill obnoxious to puniſhment, may be exerted in its utmoſt force, without giving juſt occaſion of complaint to any man.

Nor are we without hope, that theſe our Synodical Aſſemblies, regularly and conſtantly held, may be one uſeful means of checking the attempts of profane men, and preventing the

the growth of pernicious errors; eſpecially if, by the authority or intervention of ſuch Synods, ſome way might be found to reſtore the diſcipline of the Church, now too much relaxed and decayed, to its priſtine life and vigour; and to ſtrengthen the ordinary juriſdiction of Eccleſiaſtical Courts, now too much reſtrained and enfeebled: both which ends, as far as they ſhall appear to be ſubſervient to the intereſts of Religion and Virtue, and no ways to interfere with the laws and liberties of our country, we do not, under the propitious influence of your Majeſty's Adminiſtration, deſpair of attaining.

But that for which we at preſent in moſt earneſt and moſt humble manner addreſs ourſelves to your Majeſty is, that, by your royal interpoſition, an act may be obtained for reſtraining the preſent exceſſive and ſcandalous liberty of printing wicked books at home, or importing the like from abroad, in ſuch manner as to the wiſdom of your Majeſty and your Parliament ſhall ſeem moſt expedient: for, as we take this to have been the chief ſource and cauſe of theſe evils whereof we now complain; ſo we queſtion not but that the removal

moval of it would be the moſt ſpeedy and effectual cure of them *.

Our

* "This Repreſentation," Abel Boyer tells us, "was not unanimouſly approved by all the members of the joint Committee, for ſome of them diſſented to ſome parts of it; and other things were inſerted in it by the Lower Houſe not agreed to in the Commitee. This draught of a Repreſentation being laid before the Upper Houſe for their approbation, ſeveral exceptions were made to it; for, beſides the ſtyle, which by many was thought too florid and rhetorical, as well as ſome expreſſions too warm for ſo grave and venerable an aſſembly, the majority were of opinion that ſome faults aſſerted in it, and reflecting on the laſt Miniſtry, were not ſufficiently and clearly made out, and that other matters were mentioned in it which were not cognizable by the Convocation, but only by the Civil Power." Another, as has been already mentioned, was drawn up by the Lords; which being tranſmitted to the Lower Houſe for their approbation, the inferior clergy thought fit to adhere to the draught made by the joint Committee, after they had added other matters to it. Thus neither of theſe Repreſentations was preſented to the Queen; and the Convocation roſe with the diſreputation of doing nothing in ſo important a matter, ſo heartily recommended to them by the Queen.—Swift, in one of his Examiners, failed not ſhrewdly to charge the fault of this upon the Biſhops, under pretence of lamenting that the unhappy ſtop that had been put to the

Our daily and fervent prayer to GOD is, that your Majeſty may be the happy inſtrument of theſe and many other bleſſings to this Church and State; that you may be as proſperous in your deſigns againſt Infidelity and Vice here at home, as you have been in all your undertakings againſt the common enemy abroad; and may, by that means, add what alone is wanting to complete the glory, and crown the ſucceſſes, of your ever-memorable reign!

deſigned Repreſentation had given the enemies of our Holy Religion (too numerous and politic a party to be armed by ourſelves againſt ourſelves) a ſeeming occaſion to deride our diviſions.—In a former paper Swift had ſaid, "If we may gueſs the temper of a Convocation from the choice of a Prolocutor, as it is uſual to do that of a Houſe of Commons by the Speaker, we may expect great things from that Reverend Body, who have done themſelves much reputation by pitching upon a Gentleman of ſo much Piety, Wit, and Learning, for that Office; and one who is ſo thoroughly verſed in thoſe parts of Knowledge which are proper for it."

ABSOLON ET ACHITOPHEL,

POEMA; Carmine Latino Donatum *.

AD LECTOREM.

En tandem, *Amice Lector* (quod dudum pollicitus ſum) poema ſuis abſolutum numeris! cui tamen ſupervacaneum duxi, moræ excuſandæ gratiâ, aliquid præfigere. Id unicè ſollicitum me habet, ne tale fortaſſe videatur, quod nec jam debuerit emitti. Vale.

NOndum myſtarum pia fraus eluſerat orbem,
Nondùm uni conjux porrexerat ora capiſtro:
Sed ſimilem amplexa eſt, naturâ urgente, maritum
Sponſaque, & innocuo reſidens in fornice pellex.
Tunc,

* Anthony Wood tells us, that Atterbury was aſſiſted in this tranſlation by Mr. Francis Hickman. They were both young Students of Chriſt-church, Atterbury being then but of two years ſtanding, and Hickman only of one year. Another Latin verſion of this poem had been publiſhed at Oxford, in 1682, under the title of "Abſalon & Achitophel. Carmine Latino Heroico," by Mr. William Coward of Merton College (afterwards a phyſician, and well known by his writings as a Freethinker). Of the two tranſlations Wood gives this conciſe account, under the article COWARD: "He hath tranſlated into Latin Heroic Verſe the Engliſh poem "called Abſalom and Achitophel. Oxon. 1682. in five ſheets in "quarto, written by John Dryden, Eſq. Poet Laureat to King "Charles II. Mr. Coward being ſchooled for it in the college,

Tunc, qui Judaicas rerum flectebat habenas
Jeſſides, cœlo carum caput, integer ævi,
Igne pari nuptas arſit ſervaſque, Tonantis
Ectypa ſiderei, brevibus tranſcripta tabellis,
Diffundens lati vaga per confinia regni.

Imperii ſocios Michal geſtabat honores,
Sollicito (heu!) nimiùm tellus ingrata colono;
Sed reliquis impar: regi nam plurima mater
Penſabat ſteriles numeroſo pignore curas.
At quoniam non æqua Venus genialia caſti
Fœdera concuſſit lecti, male defuit, idem
Qui foret & ſceptri Jeſſæi, & ſanguinis hæres.
Hanc inter florentem annis tituliſque catervam
Abſolon emicuit princeps, quo pulchrior alter
Non fuit Abramidûm, Judæa neque induit arma.
Credibile eſt, tantum cùm, non lævo omine divûm,
Moliretur opus, majore libidinis œſtro
Impulſum, haud ſolitæ Veneri indulſiſſe parentem;
Ni forte egregium os, & pulchræ frontis honores

" and his poem not being taken in the univerſity, the title of it was " cauſed by Thomas Word of New Coll. to be put in Thompſon's " Intelligence of the 13th of June, 1682, as to have been written " by Walt. Curle, of Hartford, Gent. The tranſlation of the ſaid " poem, done by Francis Atterbury and Francis Hickman of " Chriſt-church, was extolled more than that of Coward." In the epiſtolary dedication to Coward's poem, addreſſed, " Amico meo " chariſſimo G. C. A. M. e Coll. M." and ſigned "G. C. dat. " Hartford Idib. Aprilis, 1682," the writer profeſſedly declares, that he had paid but little attention to quantity. The reader will be ſurprized, after this information, to be told that Coward's verſion has, to this moment, been unjuſtly miſtaken for Atterbury's; that it was printed at large for his by Curll; and a ſpecimen of it not only was printed in Stackhouſe's Life of him, but continues even in the improved edition of the "Biographia Britannica." It hence becomes an act of juſtice to preſerve the genuine poem in this collection of the Biſhop's Miſcellanies.

Sors

Sors dederit, certi non irrita pignora regni.
Illum etiam imberbem longè diſtantibus oris
Bellica clarabat virtus, cùm vindice ferro
Suſtinuit patrii ſocialia fœdera regni.
Pace, ducem excutiens, duri Mavortis amorem
Dedidicit, dextrâque potens tractabat inermi
Idalios arcus, & amica Cupidinis arma.
Quicquid agat juvenis, nativo ac ſimplice cultu
Splenduit. Olli omnis geſtuſque, & norma loquendi,
Sponte ſuâ effluxit, mollique in pectore ſpirans,
Gratia purpureos oculis afflavit honores;
Et pulchrum enituit proles confeſſa parentem:
Jeſſidæ tacitum pertentant gaudia pectus.
Hinc illi Annabalem, generoſo ſanguine cretam,
Conjugio junxit ſtabili, propriamque dicavit.
Omne nefas (quis enim vixit ſine crimine?) cæcum
Vel latuit, vel dixiſſes latuiſſe, parentem.
Si fortè exundans juvenili effervuit æſtu
Sanguis, & immiſtas ſpumanti gurgite ſordes
Eluit, effrænis pia lex hoc imputat annis.
Uſque cadas, Amnon; læſæ tamen hoſtia famæ
Concidis: hoc tacitam prætexunt nomine culpam.
Sic meritò plauſúque virûm, ſtudiiſque faventûm
Incaluit felix, annis labentibus, heros;
Dùm placidos longâ populos in pace regebat
Jeſſides. Sed enim nihil omni ex parte beatum eſt:
Explorat juſtos duro ſub verbere numen;
Caſtigatque malos.—

Abramidæ duri, genus intractabile ſemper,
Et varium ; quos jam ſeries exhauſta favorum
Incaſſùm obruerat ; longo gens ebria luxu,
Ætheriiſque tumens epulis, regumque deûmque
Contemptrix ; olim formare edocta, novæque
Jam bene tornatos incudi reddere divos :
Heu ! nimiùm, nimiùmque excuſſis libera frænis,
Exanimes captant umbras, & ſomnia ficti
Servitii. Sed cùm latè regna omnia circùm
Proſpicerent duri flagris ſubjecta tyranni
Immunes ipſi ; tum primùm accenſa libido
Teſqua inculta ſequi, & ſylveſtribus horrida dumis :
Tum primùm laudare viros, qui, more ferino,
Indomitum nullis agitant ſub legibus ævum.
Scilicet hi, poſtquam cecidit pater, Isboſhethum
Impulerant raptis facilem decedere regnis :
Hi regem, Hebronicis ageret cùm finibus exul,
Excipiunt reducem, & juncto clamore ſalutant.
Hi tamen ingenii motus ; nil præſtitit unquam
Intemerata fides. Verſo nàm cardine rerum,
Arte laboratum mox damnant numen, & aris
Impoſi os queruli tandem indignantur honores.
Quid vetuit fragiles fœdare in pulvere divos,
Quos manibus ſtruxere ſuis ? ſi fortè juvenci
Immanem aurati formam induat, & popularem
In vitulum liquidi vaneſcat regis imago.
Hactenùs ambigui diviſa opprobria vulgi
Sparguntur ; nondùm collectis viribus agmen
In ſcelus ibat ovans, junctæque umbone phalanges.

Pars

Pars populi, quorum melior ſententia menti,
Quos & certa quies, & pax tranquilla juvaret,
Præteritique memor flebat, metuenſque futuri.
Necdùm etiam exciderant animo diſcrimina regni
Priſtina, adhùc triſtes inhoneſto vulnere malas
Spectat; adhuc veteris terrent veſtigia cædis,
Servatique iterùm bellis civilibus anni.
Quo gemitu converſi animi in meliora ruebant,
Et dubiam juſto firmabant pondere lancem:
Quæque erat in vultu Jeſſæo gratia, belli
Præripuit cauſas, & acerbi pectoris iras.
Sed cùm animos ſtimulet peccandi occulta libido,
Mox flatu Satanas ſopitos ventilat ignes:
Lenoniſque modo, optatos indulget amores.
Hinc *Cauſæ Veteris* fœcundo è ſemine FOEDUS.
Vera an falſa licet jungantur fœdera, plebem
Evehere ad faſces gaudent, exſcindere regem.
Urbs antiqua fuit (Jebici tenuere coloni)
Arx Syriæ indomitæ, nomenque & munia debens
Civibus indigenis: ſed cùm, volventibus annis,
Paulatim invaluit cœli delecta propago,
Vis juris menſura fuit. Tùm, judice ferro,
Continuò fluere, ac retrò ſublapſa referri
Res Jebiûm; fractæ vires, averſa Dei mens.
Laſſati tandem bellis, fatiſque repulſi,
Haud ſponte Iſaciis ſummittunt ora lupatis.
Erepti cenſus, omniſque avulſa poteſtas;
Amiſſis creſcunt nova vectigalia campis:
Et, quod adhùc gravius (crimenque caputq; malorum)

Cœlicolûm cineres, uſtique injuria divi,
Sollicitant miſeros: ſedet hoc ſub pectore vulnus,
Incenditque animos. Diverſo ſidere ritus
Quanquàm obeant myſtæ varios, fraus omnibus una eſt.
Stet licet ignavum de ſaxo aut ſtipite numen,
Haud minùs hoc ipſum telis animiſque tuentur
Cultores, quàm ſi cælato viveret auro.
Atque adeò ſuper his, quanquam infenſiſſimus ordo,
Rabbini plaudunt: neque enim culpare licebit,
Si divum audaces, à quo veſcuntur, adorant.
Hinc illæ lachrymæ, hinc, patriæ communis Erinnys;
CONCILIUM horrendum; cujus pars altera veris
Nititur indiciis, fictâ pars altera famâ.
Exceptum immodicis nùnc plauſibus, &, vice verſâ,
Nùnc actum immodicis clamoribus: inde refellunt
Defuncti, hinc vivi jurant in FOEDERA teſtes:
Necdùm vulgus iners metuendi viſcera monſtri
Rimatur: (non eſt ea cura) ſed indigeſtos
Arripit, atque avido ore incoctos devorat artus,
Vera fides rerum fictâ ſub nube laborat:
Scilicet arriſit populo, ſapientibus idem
Qui fuit indeprenſus, & irremeabilis error.
Sera dies parili culpâ notat, omnia ſeu quis
Excipiat bibulâ, clauſâ ſeu reſpuat aure.
Niliacos coluit ritus Jebuſita ſacerdos:
Sanctum illic guſtu viguit ſub judice numen.
Quantus adorati ſapor eſt, quæ gratia divi,
Cùm famulis victum pariter cultumque miniſtret!

Hos

Hos ubi telorum pia vis obtrudere divos
Non valuit (neque enim turmæ par unus ovanti
Congreditur) ſacras artes, nova pectore verſant
Conſilia; &, cùm non ſtricto decernere ferro
Auderent, ſolidis ſtant obnixi argumentis.
Infert ſe nebulâ ſeptus mirâ arte ſacerdos
Per medios, miſcétque viris, neque cernitur ulli;
Uſque venenatæ fatalia ſpicula linguæ
Perque aulam infamem jactans olidumque lupanar.
Hinc juſtâ templi cuſtos excanduit irâ,
Ereptum plorans lanato cum grege vellus.
Fama volat fœtos nitrato turbine ſcloppos
(Hæc quanquam ſeris procuſa nepotibus arma)
Intendiſſe necem regi: me judice, crimen
In dubio eſt: ſed cui notum, quo triſtis Erynnys
Præcipitet Jebios cædiſque inſana cupido?
At conjurati ſceleris quanquam exitus impar
Principiis, vanuſque furor; tamen uſque reliquit
Triſte mali augurium, & diræ veſtigia cladis.
Febris ut exeſas cum torreat igne medullas,
Qui parco tremulam lavit modò flumine venam,
Nunc tumidus latè furit, & ſpumantibus ardet
Viſceribus ſanguis, plenoque exuberat æſtu;
Tùnc membris excuſſa quies, tùnc aggere rupto
Proſilit, atque immane fremit circumfluus humor.
Haud alitèr placido imperio quæ prima malorum
Cauſa fuit, priſco torpere haud paſſa veterno
Excivit partes varias; ſubitoque tumultu
Diviſum traxit ſtudia in contraria vulgus.

Multos laude cliens accenderat ; & ſua multis
Scilicet arriſit ſapientia : protinùs ollis
Inviſæ, quas non licuit geſtare, ſecures.
Pars, quos impulſæ præceps immane ruinæ
Obruerat ſummi turbatos culmine regni,
Ceu Lemures, animum diræ formidine culpæ
Confirmant. Aliis, quos ſeditione potentes
Antiquâ, urgebat meriti vicinia fati,
Ignovit læſi regis favor ; inque merentes
Admovit ſolio, & ſocios indulſit honores.
Proh mentis ſcelus ingratæ ! proh pectora nullis
Devincta officiis, nullæ ſubjecta catenæ!
Vir gregis, & ſcelere ante alios immanior omnes,
Achitophel, ſera inviſum per ſecula nomen ;
Arcanos verſare dolos non futilis auctor.
Ingenium huic velox, audacia perdita, virtus
Neſcia ſtare loco ; laudumque immenſa cupido :
Idem & dedecoris vindex acerrimus. Olli
Dum nimis anguſtis animi vis ignea clauſtris
Irrequieta furit, pygmæos deterit artus,
Particulas animans nimiâ virtute puſillas.
Ipſe gubernator, tollentibus æquora nimbis,
Bella notis indixit ovans ; ſed viribus impar,
Cùm placidum ventis ſtaret mare, gaudet hiantem
In brevia & ſyrtes præceps urgere carinam.
Scilicet ingenii ſoror eſt inſania; utrinque
Et gracilis cognata ſecat confinia limes.
Unde etenim ille, opibus pollens, tituliſque ſuperbus,
Occultas ſtruat inſidias, animumque fatiget

Con-

Consiliis, seramque daret per membra quietem?
Unde illum insano juvet indulgere labori,
Noctes atque dies nequicquam pectore curas
Versantem, cùm nùnc gelidus tardante senectâ
Sanguis hebet; frigentque effœtæ in corpore vires?
Nempe ut divitias hæc per tormenta coactas
Hæredi tradat fatuo, quem mente siniſtrâ,
Informes curas, & rerum ænigmata volvens,
Progenuit pater; hinc rudis indigeſtaque moles
Proſilit, horrendum ac viſu mirabile monſtrum,
Plebeii illa eadem regnique & patris imago.
Quin & mente duplex, & inexorabilis irâ
Æſtuat, Iſacias ardens miſcere ruinâ,
Ad ſua ni domitas diducat flagra, cohortes.
Hinc triplicem rupto divulſit fœdere nodum,
Ir for às raptos ſceptri venalis honores
Juſſit, & externo patriam ſervire tyranno:
Concuſſæ penitùs regni tremuere columnæ.
Inde metu trepidans, famæ tamen uſque petitor,
POPLICOLAE arripuit ſacrum & venerabile nomen.
Nec cuiquam labor eſt, dùm publica jura capeſſit,
Antiquum ſcelus, & privatam eradere labem.
Tunc data libertas odiis, tunc fræna furori,
Cùm ſceleris liceat populos habuiſſe patronos.
Turba ſilet: ne ſi commiſſa piacula duris
Caſtigent trutinis, juſtoque examine librent,
Fortè ſuum pandant alieno in crimine crimen.
Sed tamen & meritæ ſunt hìc ſua præmia laudi.
Odimus incenſo jactantem verba ſenatu;

Pro-

Proſequimur plauſu ſcandentem immune tribunal.
Cauſæ ille ancipiti vigiles intendit ocellos;
Et nunquàm ad poſitos vendit ſuffragia nummos.
Litibus implicitum nullo gravis ære clientem
Eripuit; tetricis non frons ſtetit aſpera rugis:
Sed viſu facilis, dictuque affabilis iras
Succidit roſtri, & clamoſæ jurgia linguæ.
Quod ſi paciferæ mentem expleviſſet opimam
Cura togæ; ſi non glebæ prædivitis uber
Infelix lolium, & ſteriles fudiſſet avenas;
Haud pater erepti plorâſſet funera nati,
Nec querulo attentos moviſſet pollice divos;
Achitophel ſacras daret alta in carmina vires,
Illo Jeſſææ tremerent ſub nomine chordæ.
At levis ambitio gaudet, poſt terga relinquens
Securum virtutis iter, per lubrica ferri,
Ardua per, per iniqua &, fortunâ auſpice, labi.
Achitophel ſtudiis torpere ignobilis otî
Haud ultrà patiens, & inerti incumbere famæ,
Abnegat auricomos ramis decerpere fœtus,
Ni decus arboreum populari diſſipet aurâ.
Regem ergo, offenſæ veteris reus, hoſtis arenam
Provocat in mediam; & ſtrictis ſtat cominùs armis:
Elatóque tegens animoſum umbone popellum,
Ipſe ſub orbe latet. Gratam dehinc FOEDERIS anſam
Arripuit; vano populum ſermone replebat
Gaudens, & pariter facta atque infecta canebat.
Tùm monſtris terrere novis, & ſpargere voces
In vulgum ambiguas; immania ferre ſub auras

Con-

Consilia, & Jebiûm laudantem jura tyrannum.
Irritant animos hæc (quanquam vana ferantur)
Murmura sollicitos, & jampridem arma frementes.
Scilicet implicitos dubiâ vertigine gyros
Volvit (ut emensum cùm Luna redintegrat orbem);
Et jam bis denis, vaga gens, redeuntibus annis,
(Naturæ imperio) regalem alternat honorem.
Deerat adhuc *Causæ* princeps; fortissimus unus
Absolon ante alios placuit: non ut nova possit
Fama ducis nomenque virûm volitare per ora:
(Nam neque patriciis amor est, nec lurida bilis)
Sed quia, plebeios titulo poscente favores,
Captaret supplex tumidi suffragia vulgi;
Si fortè imperii paulatim elapsa potestas
Regales turbæ informi submittat habenas.
Illi ergo Achitophel, nactus molliſſima fandi
Tempora, compositis permulcet pectora dictis,
Occultum inspirans ignem, fallensque veneno.
"O decus Abramidûm, quo jam nascente cometes
Tranavit liquidas augusto syrmate nubes!
O lux Isaciæ, spes O fidissima terræ!
Alatâ populum nebulæ qui protegis umbrâ,
Et regis ambiguos nocturnâ lampade gressus!
Par Mosi ductor! cujus non debile sceptrum
Melle novo, niveoque undantes flumine ripas
Admovet, atque ipsum vinc'lis ligat Ennosigæum*!
Te, te venturum per sæcula longa nepotûm
Præsagus cecinit non infausto omine vates.
O desiderium populi commune, tuæque

* Sc. Neptunum.

Vox

Vox patriæ! Juvenes de te ſua ſomnia narrant,
Delirique ſenes; te publica vota parentem
Ritè vocant; in te gens inclinata recumbit;
Explerique animum nequit, ardeſcitque tuendo.
Quà tendis, pictam ſolennes ordine pompæ
Sponte viam ſternunt, blæſæque ad compita linguæ
Uſque tuum ingeminant repetito murmure nomen.
Expectate diu juvenis; quid ſera moraris
Gaudia? quid regni decus imperiumque paterni
Temnis, & oblatas nondum moderaris habenas?
Uſquè adeò cordi eſt nudis gaudere faventûm
Laudibus, & plauſæ ſonitum virtutis amare
Exanimem? ignavúmque agitas inglorius ævum?
Donec, quæ tremulos radiis præſtrinxit ocellos
Gloria, langueſcit moriens; dubióque receſſit
Lumine, & in tenues paulatim evanuit auras.
Crede, puer (nec vana loquor) ſe ſponte reſolvent,
Si non maturas decerpſeris arbore fruges.
Nempe omnes æquo ſortimur numine divûm,
Seriùs aut citiùs, fauſti diſpendia fati:
Cujus ut ambages, & perplexum, arte magiſtrâ,
Inſequimur curſum, (Deus eſt ſua cuique libido)
Sors ruit in præceps, & per devexa viarum
Radit iter liquidum; levíque in tramite labens
Fertur in oppoſitam, celeri pede lubrica, metam:
Indeprenſa tamen, levibus pernicior Euris
Te fugit; & longo cita deſerit intervallo
Attonitis inhiantem oculis, & multa volentem.
Eja age, præcipiti nùnc, nùnc ruit obvia paſſu,

Dona

Dona manu, & fluxos pandens in fronte capillos.
Ille tuus genitor, ſi non, felicibus uſus
Auſpiciis, raptos ſceptri aſſeruiſſet honores,
Exul adhuc Gathicas chelyn increpuiſſet ad oras,
Perfuſus nequicquàm oleo labente capillos.
Te patris juvenile decus, te priſtina virtus
Excitet, emeritæ nolentem accedere laudi.
En, grave ut Heſperiis jàm jàm caput occulit undis!
En, ut creſcentes decedens duplicat umbras!
Qualis nunc ſenior, quantùm mutatus ab illo
Davidè, quem turba, ad ripas effuſa, ruebat
Expectans reducem; cùm littora fervere latè
Proſpiceres, omnémque rapi Jordanis arenam.
Sorte pari, angelicæ quondam jactantior aulæ,
Deſuper impulſus ruit è ſuperis laribus dux:
Sorte pari, æthereos vaneſcere ſenſit honores
Languidus, & vaſtam traxit per inane ruinam.
Foedere concuſſo (quo non præſentius ullum
Sub reditu rebus dubiis affulſerit omen)
Quis populi rumor? quæ nunc opprobria jactat
Vulgus iners? uno quondam conſtricta manip'lo
Agmina diſcuſſit Boreas; & turbine cæco
Aura levis vacui torquet ludibria cœli.
Nec metus eſt armis regem ſe opponere noſtris,
Præſidiis orbum, atque hoſtili indagine ſeptum.
Dic, in amicitiam coeant, & fœdera jungant
Niliacæ gentes: at non Hebræa juventus
Arma & opes Pharias, at non ſocialia caſtra
Indignans feret, atque externi opprobria Martis.

Diverſas agit intereà ſub pectore curas,
Et notâ Pharao molitur fraude ſupino
Inſidias regi, creſcenti incendia bello.
Sed neque Jeſſæi comites ſocia agmina jungent
Laturi auxilium Jebiis, gentique nefandæ.
Eſto tamen, pariles mittant in prælia turmas:
Mox fractæ ſtudiis, & adhùc Mavorte ſecundo
Diſſilient vires, Jeſſidæámque relinquent
Hìnc illìnc aciem florentes ære catervæ.
Me duce, ſubſidunt proceres regale peroſi
Imperium; ſævitque animis ignobile vulgus.
Auſpice me, junctis feriunt clamoribus auras
Relligio & nullo conſtricta licentia nodo.
Quod ſupereſt, ſi te firmantem publica cernant
Armis arma tuis, pariterque in bella ruentem,
Quæ virtus alacres quæ ſpes arrecta cohortes
Excitet! & quantis ſurgat tua gloria rebus!
Nec laudis ſonitum, & tenuem ſine corpore vitam
(Qualis vere novo hilares flos paſcit ocellos
Pictâ veſte decens, & verſicoloribus alis)
Porrigimus; ſolido ſceptri donabimus auro.
Atque equidem ut fatear, longè faſtigia regni
Præſtat, & oblatam, populo plaudente, curulem
Scandere, quàm ſi atavos & avorum antiqua ſonares
Nomina, Noæi jactans chirographa ligni."
Finierat. Quid non juvenilia pectora cogit
Laudis ſacra fames, blandis accenſa faventûm
Plauſibus, & famæ ſtimulis excita futuræ?
Imperii in terris quanquam non æqua libido,

Igneus

Igneus eſt olli vigor, & cœleſtis origo.
Cúmque animos, ſuperis gratiſſima cura, viriles
Tangit honos, tantùm nimis alto pectore ſpirant
Æthereum ſenſum, & divinæ ſemina flammæ.
Igne calens multo juvenis, mentíſque animíque
Æmulus angelici, virtutis calle relicto,
Fertur in obliquum; penitúſque in corda receptæ
Indulget famæ, popularíque intumet aurâ.
Aſſenſu tandem dubio dum fluctuat heros,
(Nam vel adhùc patriæ ſubiit pietatis imago)
Incipit effari.—" Quid me pro legibus arma
Ferre juvet trepidis, libertatemque tueri?
Ritè parens magnâ populos ditione gubernat,
Ritè fidem vigil & ſacratas protegit aras.
Dilectum caput, Iſacias juſtiſſimus unus
Qui tenuit virgas, & ſervantiſſimus æqui;
Cui Deus imperium firmat, cui militat æther.
Quis pecus ereptum vacuis nunc plorat in arvis?
Cui ſua non juſtæ defertur cauſa querelæ?
Millia quot facilis peſti devota futuræ
Juſſit adhùc ſpirare, & amicâ veſcier aurâ?
Quanto ille obnixus noſtris molimine cuſtos
Invigilat curis! placidam quæ gratia frontem
Temperat, & raro perfuſos ſanguine faſces?
Sin nulla effrænas mollit clementia gentes,
Uſquè ſuum Divo defendit judice crimen
Jeſſides. Sed enim patrias acuiſſe ſecures
Quid juvet, & duri flagro inſonuiſſe tyranni?
His Nilum premat imperiis, his ſæviat armis

Trux

Trux Pharao: Juvet hunc magnâ dominarier aulâ;
Hunc reſides frænare animos, & inertia corda.
Si tamen inviſas genitor molitur habenas,
Abramidis fatuos ſub pectore ſuſcitat ignes
Invida temperies cœli, & Sirius ardor.
Mene acies ergo ducentem, me quoque tanget
Communis furor, & ſcelerati inſania belli?
Judæos (eſto) ſummi de culmine regni
Trudat, & ereptâ Jebios in ſede reponat;
Flere meum eſt: ultrà ferar? imperioſa coercet
Luctantes natura manus, & temperat iras.
Plebiſcita ſuo licet aſſeruiſſe tribuno: [quæ
Sanguine ſed dextram hanc patriæ jus imbuit; &
Dimittent alios, capient me bella nocentem.
Me pater extenſæ cumulato munere dextræ
Occupat; et votis nondum ſpirantibus inſtat,
Quò potuit facilis civem perducere princeps,
Aſcendi, ſupráque nihil niſi regna reliqui.
Illa ſed" (ingemuit, mediâque in voce receſſit)
"Marte ferox, & ſtirpe prior, ſibi vendicat heros.
Nam pater ut placidâ demùm ſopitus in urnâ,
Fila manu increpitans, cœleſtem perſonet aulam,
Angelici pars una chori; mox integra proles
Arripiet ſceptrum, vel lævi tramitis hæres.
Ille odiis quanquam populi jactatus iniquis,
Uſquè tamen fidens animi ſtetit omnia contra,
Securúſque ſui. Rerum qui ſanctior ordo
Hunc colit, & magnæ (fortiſſima pectora) turmæ
Inſignem virtute ducem, ac fulgentibus armis:

Turba

Turba gravem bellis dextram, & Mavorte ſecundo
Terribilem celebrant externa; domeſtica, fidam:
Obſequii, princeps; laudum præconia, ſpargit
Perque orbem, pérque aſtra ſuperbæ buccina famæ:
Hunc facilem plebs dura canet, cùm fronte ſerenâ
Surgentes animos, & amico temperet æſtus
Lumine, Jeſſææ ſtirpis non degener hæres.
Ergóne me parcas, & ineluctabile fatum
Incuſare juvet, quòd non arriſerit æther
Naſcenti, magno nec turgent ſanguine venæ?
Quanquam (O!) ſi dederit mihi me, ſi numen anhelanti
Aut aliud genus, aut alias ſub pectore flammas
Sortitum, haud dubiâ ſubmerſum ſtirpe vigorem
Fregerit: & tantos animæ reſtinxerit ignes!
Fallor?—
An tumidus fervet circum præcordia ſanguis?
Illa patris virtus materno in limite claudi
Indignata furit. Quid inerti compede cingor
Semideus? parilem quid non infuſa per artus
Mens agitat molem, & magno ſe corpore miſcet?
Eſt hic, eſt animus, ſocii qui corporis ægras
Vix patitur ſordes; qui clauſtra inviſa refugit;
Imperiique capax arrectæ immurmurat auri:
Regna petas, tantæ liceat ſuccumbere culpæ:
Regnandi ſuperis non eſt ingrata libido."
Quem ſimul ac nutantem orci umbrarumque ſatelles
Viderit, ut ceſſit vix tandem frigida virtus,

Inſtat anhelanti præceps, urgétque, premítque,
Incendítque animum dictis, atque aggerat iras.
" Haud tantas hominum divûmque æterna poteſ-
Ingenti fruſtrà cumulat ſub pectore dotes. [tas
Quæ te fata manent! quali tibi ſurgere regna
Auſpicio cernes! non hís virtutibus alto
Mercedem imperio dederit ſors æqua minorem:
Sic mea fulſiſti, ſic te tua lingua refellit.
Sed neque me patrii tranquilla potentia regni
Sollicitat: quanquàm ſublimi fronte verendi
Regibus, & valido debentur ſceptra tyranno.
Quid quamvis laſcivo indulget vota popello,
Et cumulat, quos non licuit meruiſſe, favores?
At protenſa manus pronos in munera reges
Arguit, & faciles; genii, non pectoris, index.
Tùm datur excuſſis latè diſcurrere frænis,
Cùm manibus laxas auriga remittat habenas.
Quin age, fundat opes, exhauſtæque incubet arcæ;
Et fruſtrà cautum compellet voce ſenatum,
Donec, qui miſero ſiclus protenditur, unà
Divulſum trahat imperium, & venalia jura.
Moliri inſidias, & ruptæ fœdera pacis
Excutere, his humeris, ſiqua eſt, ea cura recumbet.
Et cùm æger loculo quadrans ſuſpiret in imo,
Nos petet; & ſumptis ponet REGALIA nummis.
At nudo ſi quis lateri bonus hæret Achates,
Fautor (ne dubites) Jebiorum, & verna Canopi,
Audiet invíſi: donec ſtipantibus orbum
Jeſſiden turmis fœdæ vaga buccina famæ

Con-

Concinat, & naſo populus ſuſpendat adunco.
His ſuper, hæredem (mihi formidabile nomen)
Suſpectumque dedi; & verbis odia aſpera movi.
Ipſa ſuum virtus noſtris ſubjecta querelis
Præcipitat dominum: ruit ingens mole ſuâ vir:
Dum toto juvenes ſpargunt convitia pago;
Atque hoſtem latè clamat longæva ſenectus.
Venalis proſtabit honos, cadet hoſtia plenis
Jus & fas loculis; noſtroque litabitur auro.
Inde tuum leges & plebiſcita coacta
Firmabunt titulum; Jeſſidæoſque favores
Eliciet duris urgens in rebus egeſtas.
Sin ruat in lævum tantæ fiducia cauſæ;
Sceptra tamen juncti dederint ſuffragia vulgi:
Scilicet imperii (populi grave pignus) eodem
Quo dantur faſces poſſunt authore revelli.
Nec, quanquàm recto miſſus de tramite, plebem
Jus habet in dominam, quem ſors male deſtinat, hæres
Quid quamvis avido ſolium prohibemus? at uno
Vulnere communem juvat avertiſſe ruinam.
Pridem animos experta ſuos Hebræa juventus
Haud feret humanis proſcindi terga flagellis,
Quæ priùs ætherias audens excuſſit habenas.
I nunc, & curas, & jus obtende paternum,
Armorum ſcelus, & venturæ opprobria famæ:
Vox populi, facilem cui nec Deus abnuit aurem,
Spemque dabit menti dubiæ, ſolvétque timorem.
Neve animos valeat pietas ſimulata viriles

Flectere; Naturæ ſunt hæc documenta magiſtræ:
Nempe cãtus genitor, longum quò proroget ævum,
Oſcula filiolo libans in imagine vivâ
Se fovet, inque ſuis ſe tantùm amplectitur ulnis.
Vel patrium donis paribus teſtetur amorem,
Vel dubias ultrà ceſſet prætendere fraudes.
Haud vano patrem luſit Deus omine, ſceptrum
Qui dedit, æterni monumentum & pignus amoris.
Credibile eſt imis paſtorem arſiſſe medullis,
Cui tàm formoſi pecoris dedit eſſe magiſtrum.
Quòd ſi te gremio libuit foviſſe paterno,
Te caram ante omnes ſobolem, quid ſceptra merenti
Abnegat; inviſúſque in regnum quæritur hæres?
Ergône ſe curam cœli, pietatis alumnum
Jactat? & hæredem titulo fraudare patronis
Diis placuit? Fratri rerum commiſſa poteſtas,
Te ſterilis glebæ, emenſi te jugera campi
Agnoſcent dominum; et, pleno dare vela favori
Si juvet, accipies, quâ jàm pater antè ſolebat
Stridenti miſerum citharâ diſperdere carmen.
Quinetiam ſolio qui proximus imminet hæres,
Per tenues nebulas, per ficti nominis umbras,
Aëriaſque ſuperficies veſtigia longè
Obſervata memor legit; & proſpectat euntem:
Et, quanquàm obductum premat alto corde dolorem,
Uſque agit inſidias; et, quas tacet, aſperat iras.
Utque leo, quem jàm collecta fatigat edendi
Ex longo rabies, incautam fortè catervam
Si videt, ille dolos oculis meditatur apertis,

Et

Et vigil obliquo declinat lumina ſomno;
Rugitus premit horrificos, & contrahit ungues:
Tandem ubi palantes juxtà conſpexerit hoſtes,
Proſilit è latebris, & fulvæ verbere caudæ
Ductores ipſos cœlo capita alta ferentes
Sternit humi præceps; neglectum vulgus, & omnem
Hùc illùc miſcet nemora inter frondea turbam.
Ergo age, rumpe moras; certandum eſt cominus armis;
Sat paci precibuſque datum. Stet frangere bello
Hoſtiles acies, aut certæ occumbere morti.
Stringe manu ferrum: defenſæ ſanguine vitæ
Abſolvet natura ſcelus. Torpeſcere vulgo
Nec vacet, & duros armorum expendere caſus,
Ne taciti ſudent, ne provida pectora terror
Occupet; & nondùm commiſſo Marte recedant.
Admotam arripias falcati temporis anſam;
Dùmque pater ſupereſt, dubii jus aſſere regni:
Neu quis ſcire dolos poſſit, te finge parentis
Devotum caput armato cuſtode tueri;
Quem conjuratis in aperta pericula turmis
Hinc raperent hoſtes, hinc cæcâ fraude clientes.
Et quis Jeſſææ referet penetralia mentis?
Fortè vetat timor, & placito luctatur amori.
Uſquè licet juncti communia fœdera lecti
Incendant animum, & ſtimulos ſub pectore ver-
Vincit cura ſui, fraternæque impetus iræ. [ſent;
Atque adeò vetitos jubet extorquere favores,
Ipſe minax: ut quæ dubiis ſuccumbere votis

Ardet amans meretrix ; et, quos fugit, allicit ignes.
Sit via vi : miſtâ cùm jàm ſubriſerit irâ,
Aggredere ; & gratas luctanti immitte catenas.
Quâ regem ſpolias, tibi fas ſperare ſalutem ;
Et captiva ſuum comitantur jura tyrannum."

His dictis blandâ lapſus per viſcera flammâ
Incenſum miro juvenem inflammabat amore.
Purus adhùc ſceleris (niſi quod ſcelus eſſet amari),
Nec faſtu tumidus, fuſo nec ſanguine gaudens,
Vixerat (heu !) quantâ notus ſuper æthera famâ,
Si purum hauſiſſet venis & ſanguine regem ;
Nataleſve forent, cœlo ridente, minores.
Digna quidem incaluit generoſo in pectore virtus,
Quæ gravidam imperiis gentem frænaret ; & omnem
(Ni patriam mallet) ſub leges mitteret orbem.
Cùm tamen ingentes animos habet alta libido
Imperii, præſtat madido deflere reatum
Lumine quàm nigro ſcelus inſignire lapillo.
Olli nempe animo ſpes larga inſederat imo
Plebejos tentandi aditus : ſic poſſe revelli
Rivales ad ſceptra manus. Hinc ducere turmas
In ſcelus ardentes placuit, Foedusque malignâ
Arte ſequi ; & rabido ſimul inſanire popello.

Has dum facundo meditatur pectore fraudes
Achitophel, querulas vocat ad ſua caſtra cohortes ;
Atque animat junctas ſtudia in contraria partes.

Prima mali labes, procerum manus emicat ardens,
Quos plebeius amor, verique ſimillimus error
Impulit

Impulit in lævum; quos nullo clauſa poteſtas
Limite ſollicitat, regnique extenſa libido.
Hos patriæ ſanctus rapuit per cæca viarum
Libertatis honos, atque Omnipotentis alumnum
Jus populi, donec laxum ingemuiſſe videres
Imperium, & ruptâ penitus compage revelli.
Auri ſacra fames alios jubet impete cæco
Civiles miſcere manus; & publica jura,
Temporibus dubiis, privatæ obtendere fraudi.
His gravis imperii moles, & inutile pondus
Arguitur princeps, ſceptro qui nixus inerti
Nunquàm larga ſui reparet diſpendia damni.
Frugi homines! patrio Jeſſiden pellere regno
Aggreſſi, nimio quia conſtitit imperitari.
Horum pone legunt (ut mos) veſtigia linguæ
Venales, rauci vaga tintinnabula vulgi.
Hæc leviora tamen.—Solymæum protinus agmen
Ancipites ſtringunt gladios, & utrinque laceſſunt
Jeſſiden, paritérque viro, paritérque tyranno
Infenſi; pia gens, jampridèm excire tumultus
Edocta, & motis in ſeditionibus audax.
Ollis, rex patrias ſi fortè reviſerit oras,
Protinus arrectæ ſurgunt in vertice criſtæ,
Incaluere animi: ſed & hos tamen uſque juvaret
Oſcula victrici fixiſſe trementia dextræ.
Æmula gens ſcelerum, Jebicæ quæ peſtis honorem
Indignata, pares in fœdera miſcuit artes,
Et malè rivales animoſi pectoris iras.
Has rapit, has animat bella in civilia turmas

Myſtarum lymphata cohors, quos tempore longo
Raptus honos agitat, vetitique injuria fani.
Ergo iterant ſolitas artes, & compita rauco
Gutture pervolitant; ſanctique afflaminis œſtro
Bacchantes, grati poſcunt moderamina cœli:
Cùm ſoliti junctis ſævire in regna flagellis
Linigerique greges, trabeataque turba vocarent
In prædam, partémque Deum. Nam ſceptra nepoti
Quis negat Aronico, pietas ſi ſceptra rependat?
Hi ducunt agmen. Qui quanquàm haud nare ſagaci
Veſtigent aditus omnes, omnémque pererrent
Arte locum; magnis tamen æthera vocibus implent,
Et penitus rupti quatiunt fundamina regni.
Pone ſubit tardis inhians ad pulpita verbis
Sancta cohors, veteriſque tenens veſtigia flammæ;
His gravis eſt rerum facies, & lucidus ordo;
Evertiſſe juvat ſtructas ad ſidera moles;
Nec tamen everſas juvat inſtaurare ruinas.
Plenior hinc numerus denſatas explicat alas;
Mentis inops, linguâ melior: quos cæca libido
De patribus, populóque, penatibus, & magnis diis
Sollicitat, natúſque intra cunabula fervor;
Quos uſſit Jebici pariter, Stygiique tyranni
Immortale odium, & nunquam ſanabile vulnus.
His, licet invitis (neque enim, ſe judice, quenquam
Sanctorum invaſit fidei malè lubricus error)
Cœleſtes facili patuerunt cardine valvæ.
Ecce faces belli!—Sunt & Lernæa propago,
Sunt & multifidæ fœcundo è vertice criſtæ,
Quas nimius memorâſſe labor.—

Ante

Ante aciem fulgent proceres.—Stat limine primo
Hortator ſcelerum Zimri *, cui pendula motu
Mens fluitat dubio, tanquam contraxerat omnem
Hìnc illìnc genium, & quocunque ſub æthere nati
Pectoris ambagem. Dicto ſermone moveri
Difficilis, pravique tenax; ſed moribus anceps
Alternis animum nunc hùc, nunc dividit illùc,
In partéſque rapit vicibus; pérque omnia verſat;
Et, priùs emenſum quàm Luna recurrat in orbem,
Rem populi tractat, tibicinis, atque chymiſtæ.
Mox Veneri indulget, lauruſve ad carmina mordet,
Aut pictis inhiat tabulis, aut pocula torquet.
Adde vagos cerebri luſus, quibus impetus idem
Et dedit, & rapuit, vix dum ſpirantibus, ortum.
O felix animi rabies! qui ſemper, & omni
Nocte, diéque poteſt alienos ſumere mores.
Olli (dum argutum mentis diſtringat acumen)
Vel placuit plenis præconia ſpargere buccis,
Mordaceſve ſales verſo ſuſpendere naſo.
Hoc ſtetit in votis, patrios diſperdere cenſus,
Immeritos magnis opibus donare clientes.
Vix tandem, ut loculis elapſa pecunia plenis
Fluxerat, ignavæ ſenſit ludibria turbæ:
Dum ſuus huic lepor arriſit, cultoribus aurum.
Dein multo ſolitum buccas inflare cachinno
Aula fugat.—Cæcos tùm primùm excire tumultus,
Et rapere incenſos caſtra in contraria cives.
At non plebeiis unquàm bellator in armis
Emicuit princeps: tanto par ſolus honori

* Dux Buckinghamienſis.

Signifer

Signifer Achitophel: lateri cui proximus hæret
Abſolon, & ſocias molitur pectore curas.
Ergo ubi jàm miſero peccandi ſola voluntas
Sur'puerat ſceleris labem, non ſponte malignos
Deſeruit cœtus, pridèm deſertus ab illis. [nores
Stemmata quid referam? Quid carmine dignerho-
Patricios, ſeriémque rudem?—Fulgentibus ordo
Emicuit melior criſtis, cui bellica virtus,
Aut plebs, aut citharæ cordi. Dein agmina ſtipant,
Et proceres titulo tenùs; et, bona turba, mariti,
Exulet his ergo (proh turpia nomina!) chartis
Frigidus in venerem Caleb*, & membroſior æquo
Balamus †. Sed & hunc oblivia longa recondant,
Qui ‡ nova paſchali condivit fercula cœnæ.
Cana fides multos, & junctæ fœdera dextræ;
Hos ſua defendit ſolido munimine virtus:
Hos prohibent meritis ſcelerum faſtidia flagris.
At procul hinc, procul ite foràs vos, ultima duri
Fæx populi, parcus cui finxit corda Prometheus,
Et cautus nullos princeps indulſit honores.
Nec Jonam § noſtris vacat inſeruiſſe libellis,
Quanquàm humeris tenùs a collo palearia pendent;
Quanquàm jus dederit ſceleri, legúmque ſiniſter
Interpres plebeiam ænigmate ſanxerit iram.
Proximus huic (longo nec proximus intervallo)
Stat Shimei ||, ſacro jampridèm percitus œſtro;
Et regale caput Stygiæ damnare paludi

* Comes Huntingdonienſis.
† Dominus Grey.
‡ Dominus Howard de Eſerick.
§ Dominus Gulielmus Jones.
|| Vice-comes Bethel.

Auſus,

Auſus, adhùc nudis tenerâ lanugine malis.
Sed caro ſceleri venerandæ intacta crumenæ
Obſtat relligio; & metuentem ſabbata vincit
Auri ſanctus amor, lucrique arrecta cupido.
Ille quidem teſtes jurare & fallere divos
Horruit; at regum ſi deteſtabile nomen
Auribus imbiberit, ferali protinus ore
Intonat, irarûmque omnes effundit habenas.
Ut tandem, tremulos privata ad templa ſuſurros
Fundere, & occultas (ut mos) innectere fraudes
Edoctus, pleno cuſtos inhiârit acervo;
Tam cari capitis ſudorem urbs grata rependit,
Geſtandáſque dedit (pretium non vile) ſecures.
Dextra tenet ſtrictam Nemeſin; it pectore ſummo
Flexilis obtorti per collum circulus auri.
Tùm placidi fluxêre dies, & neſcia rumpi
Gaudia; tùm nudo licuit convitia ſceptro
Ingerere, & Stygiis bacchari impunè catervis.
Scilicet, intacti quamvis non prodigus auri,
Uſquè tamen ſcelerum ſocios, turmáſque nefandas
Amplecti miro Shimei properabat amore.
Et conjuratum ſi fortè coiverit agmen,
Auſi vipereas Jeſſidæ intendere linguas,
Vertitur in medio Shimei; cœtúſque malignos
Ne moveat, ſocias effundit pectore diras.
Quòd ſi aliquis caro ſanctorum de grege reſtim
Horruerit, culpæ veteris reus atque tacendæ,
Bardiacus judex datur hæc punire volenti,
Quem jubet in fratrem laxas dare legis habenas
Junctus amor ſcelerum, & cognato in vulnere vulnus.

Nam

Nam quid agunt leges? durum & grave regibus agmen
Cæco umbone tegunt, fidum genus enſe recidunt.
Si qua tribunitiis ſuccedant otia curis,
(Quippe ingens ſcelus eſt, ignavo elabier horam)
Moris erat, ſcriptas in vulgum ſpargere chartas,
Regem immanè queri, durum quem mercibus hoſtem
Arguit, & populo nimiùm grave pondus anhelo.
Et, vivum ingenii quò fortiùs iret acumen,
Non vetitæ proles Rechabitica parcior uvæ,
Nulla meri cuſtos vacuis ſtetit amphora cellis;
Rara tribunitias onerant convivia menſas;
Dedidicit veteres tandem coquus immemor artes;
Igne focus nullo tepuit: ſed pectore flammæ
Vis ſedet, atque olidam verſat mens atra culinam,
Tanta hyemis, gelidíque laris reverentia multis
Succutiat latus, & tremulos de more cachinnos
Eliciat; ſed enim fauſtum ſtat civibus omen.
Scilicet urbs, rapidos quæ jàm conſidit in ignes,
Cautos jure legat dominos, qui fomite nullo
Alliciant læſo demiſſa incendia cœlo.
Servorum ille animis ſuperæ convivia menſæ
Indulgens, ventres modio caſtigat iniquo
Carne parùm ſaturos; nempe hinc accenſa libido
Moverat Iſacidas; dirique inſania belli.
Sanctiùs ergo colit venerandi dogmata ſaxi,
Quòd Moſem Sinici ſacra ad faſtigia clivi
Viderat intactis lux quadrageſima labris.

Cætera

Cætera de genere hoc, adèo ſunt multa, loquacem
Delaſſare valent (quamvis in FOEDERA) teſtem.
Nulla tamen memori Coram * lux eximet ævo,
Nulla unquàm cæcâ rapiet ſub nube vetuſtas.
Erige adorandi capitis decus, erige frontem
Siſyphiam, & ſolido circum-ſeptum os orichalco.
Eia age, cognati vivax ſerpentis imago,
Indue feſtivas ſacro velamine gentes;
Securumque gregem viridi tege protinus umbrâ.
Quid ſi humili natus lare ſit? tamen antè cometes
Terrenas fæces bibit, atque infauſta vaporum
Semina, quàm lævo contriſtat lumine cœlum:
Et, ſua frondenti quæ cingat tempora lauro,
Par regum pueris textoris ſordida proles.
Ille ad roſtra fremens ſparſâ dum primus arenâ
TESTIS OVAT, tumido venturam in ſæcula famam
Detulit hæredi, longumque nepotibus ævum.
Cui dubium eſt, magno cenſeri ſanguine teſtes
Qui tulerant lætos Stephani de morte triumphos?
Leviticâ noſter deduxit ſtemmata virgâ;
Qui ratus eſt ordo (ſec'li pro more) Tonantis
Grande ſatellitium, & magni gens optima cœli.
Triſtè ſonat vox rauca, cavis ſtant ſedibus orbes:
(Uſque adeò nec bile jecur nec ſanguine fervet)
Vim magnam ingenii, & miras ſub pectore dotes
Arguit immiſſi ſpatium admirabile menti.
Ore ſedet rubicundus honos, & fulgura vultus
Moſaici; nitidóque micat frons digna ſacello.
Mens rerum uſquè tenax potuit (mirabile dictu!)

* Titus Oateſius.

Concilia, atque impar fidei ſcelus ordine longo
Eruere, arcanoſque dolos, ſeriémque profundam;
Quæ tamen haud fictam credas fudiſſe tabellam:
Ecquis enim tantas potuit diſponere fraudes?
Multa animi ſacra vis, & mens divina futuri
Inſperſit chartis: ſed enim ſub fine labanti
Succurrit teſti vates, atque omina firmat.
Plurima nocturni referunt ludibria ſomni;
Scilicet excuſſit ſibi ſe, fruiturque Deorum
Colloquio: hinc magnus pullatâ veſte ſacerdos
Emicat, ignotum Phœbæa per oppida nomen.
Aſt illi memoris quanquàm vis mira cerebri,
Haud minùs argutum mentis præſtabat acumen:
Nempè illo dubias munivit robore chartas,
Et populi arriſit genio (ſic fata trahebant)
Horrendas Jebiûm cædes, atque arma frementi.
Gens tamen Iſaciæ ſi quando infenſa quieti
Eſſe putet clauſi ficta internuncia cœli
Tradidit arcano quæcunque volumine Corah,
Uſque luet meritas æquo ſub judice pœnas:
Nam quæſtum qui tollit, idem facit occidenti.
Quòd mihi ſi Coræ ſacrato munere fungi
Sors haud læva daret, quiſquis foret ille virorum,
Qui tanto intactum macularet crimine nomen,
Excuteret vigili damnoſa oblivia menti:
Sic ſtat, finitis à tergo appendere chartis.
Æternas illum maculas inſpergere famæ
Jeſſææ rabies demiſſi cœlitus œſtri
Impulit, & nimius circum præcordia fervor.

At

At quantus pietatis honos ! cui libera linguæ
Vis datur, & nullam ſubitura licentia legem.
Inde trahi licuit Coræ clamoribus iiſdem,
Queis Saulum increpuit vates animoſus, Agagum
Protrahere in medios, juſtæque opponere morti.
Cætera turba pares miſcens in FOEDERA chartas
(Quos amor admovit, pretiive inſana libido)
Coraïcæ juncto ſuccedent ordine claſſi :
Nempe omnes uno cenſentur nomine TESTES.
Ergo Lares patrios juvenis, magnámque relinquit,
Stipatus variis hinc inde clientibus, aulam :
Subdit laudis amor ſtimulos, dat fræna furenti
Ardua ſpes; dubiique animat vicinia regni.
Undique viſendi ſtudio juvenúmque ſenúmque
Circumfuſa ruit manus, & proſpectat euntem
Attonitis inhians animis.—Volat ille per urbes,
Conſiliúmque tegens vultu, ſpem fronte ſerenat.
Poplite genua cadunt humili, cervice reflexâ
Hùc caput atque illùc humero ex utróque pependit.
Arte vagos oculos, & membra decora juventæ
Temperat, arte manus numeróſque modoſque loquendi
Inſtruit; & populum compellat vocibus ultrò,
Nomine quemque vocans. ———
Ergo animi accitis hinc dotibus, hinc benè cultu
Nativo ſplendens, tacito per pectora lapſu
Se blandè inſinuat : dein triſti lumina vultu
Dejectus, gemitúſque trahens in verba decoros,
Tandem pauca refert; ſed mollibus apta querelis

Lenè

Lenè cadunt, dubiæque fluunt accommoda fraudi.
Non ſic Hyblæis demanant flumine lento
Mella favis, parilive animos dulcedine mulcent.
" Haud levis, indigenæ cives, hæc pectora veſtri
Tangit cura mali: ſed enim dolor oſſibus hæret
Interior, quòd non valeam reſcindere duras
Imperii leges, & iniquo occurrere fato.
Ille ego ſum magnâ qui dudùm ejectus ab aulâ,
Pulſus ob invidiam ſolio ſceptriſque paternis;
Unum pro cunctis mactor caput,———
Quod mea ſi veſtræ ceſſiſſet pœna ſaluti,
Hæud lævam nunc ſortem, averſaque fata dolerem:
Sed ſuper his (proh triſte nefas!) dulciſſima quondam
LIBERTAS patrios mecum concuſſa penates
Deſerit, & tenues evanida ceſſit in auras.
Quinetiam tumidi circùm vetus accola Nili
Claſſe vagâ ſpolia ampla rapit, Tyriæque juventæ,
Parva manus, noſtris latè rex imperat undis:
Nec minùs in ritus ſævit Jebuſita ſacerdos.
At genitor, ſacrum ſemper mihi nomen, inerti
Dum torpens aulâ reſides inglorius annos
Ducit, & externo malè ſedulus incubat auro,
Jàm ſenior Bathſhebæis elanguit ulnis.
Ille ſibi infeſtum ſceptrum quatit; arcet amicos,
Ereptiſque caput titulis hoſtile coronat.
Ille (nec indignor) mihi jus rapit. æſtuo, CIVES,
In ſua quòd præceps, & publica commoda peccat.
Hunc penes eſt unum turbati fœdera regni
Excutere,

Excutere, & validis ſævire impunè flagellis.
Accipite has ergo lacrymas (lacrymantia terſit
Lumina) quando aliud miſero nihil iſte reliquit.
Non patrias hæc arma gravis delator ad aures
Incuſet, tacito geminans delicta ſuſurro:
His etiam in patrem conſurgat filius armis.
Atque utinam ſolio qui proximus aſſidet hæres,
Me, me unum madidos tergentem ſpectet ocellos!"
Sæpe leves animos formæ decus atque juventæ
Occupat, & pulchro veniens de corpore virtus;
At commune bonum valet, æternúmque valebit:
Neve illi deerunt juncti ſuffragia vulgi,
Qui mala privatis immiſcet publica damnis.
Turba gravis ſceptro, placidiſque inimica tyrannis,
Præſenti turgent Meſſiæ numine, juncto
Meſſiam ſublimè ferunt ad ſidera plauſu.
Ille volans celſo feſtiva per oppida curru,
Dulce ſolum grati luſtrat Canaanis; & omnem
Metitur radiis, (Phœbeæ lampadis inſtar)
Veſper ab Eôo quà diſtat cardine, terram.
Circùm equites, pediteſque, & præcedentia longi
Agminis officia glomerant; it nuntia fama
Per populos: crebris reſonat clamoribus æther.
Si quibus auguſtus ſuccedat ſedibus hoſpes,
Illum omnes geniumque loci, famulumque Tonantis
Voce vocant: divûmque viro dignantur honores.
Ante alios lautæ explicuit convivia menſæ
Iſſachar *, occiduis jàm tùm notiſſimus oris.
Hic aulæ decor, & laſcivæ gloria pompæ

* Thomas Thynne, arm.

Uſque licet populi blandè gratantis ocellos
Luſerit attonitos, ſpecioſum crimen obumbrat:
Nempe has Achitophel vafro ſub pectore fraudes
Struxerat, ut dubios plebeio in corde receſſus
Tentaret, cæcóſque animis excuderet ignes;
Inſenſum penitùs ſociis ſecerneret agmen;
Bellantéſque acies expenderet, antè recurvæ
Quàm vis rauca tubæ duri canat omina belli.
Uſque tamen noctem cœptis immiſcuit atram
Fictus amor regum, ſceptríque ruentia fata,
Relligio vetus, & curarum dulce levamen,
(Nomina decepto ſemper placitura popello)
Quin & Jeſſææ perrumpent ſtamina vitæ
Fraterníque doli, vetitique injuria lecti.
Ergo theatrali peſtis latet aſpera pompâ,
Et bona pax taciti molitur ſemina belli.
Heu fatui cives! quos nunquàm exercita fati
Sors domuit, ſimili pronos innectier hamo,
Antiquíſque dolis. Quæ vos fortuna quietos
Sollicitat, diríque jubet contagia morbi
Fingere, adhùc validis juvenili robore nervis
Rimari dubias incerta per omina clades;
Regibus hæredes imponere, jura Tonanti?
Ergo ſui populus venturíque arbiter ævi
Imperii excuſſas aliò deflectat habenas?
Tùm cadet indomito jus & fas præda furori,
Et cuicunque licet bacchari impunè tyranno.
Nequicquàm auſpiciis legum, ſcriptiſque tabellis

Nitimur,

Nitimur, & placidæ jactamus munia vitæ,
Si lex arbitrio regali ceſſerit ultrò.
Quòd ſi plebeiæ fallaci examine libræ
Vis recti ſteterit, regumque vicarius ordo
Commiſſas fidei geſtet de more ſecures;
Aut hoc naſcentis dudùm ad primordia regni
Invaluit pactum, aut nullo vim detulit ævo.
Regia qui nudis admôrunt ſceptra lacertis,
Ni pariter ferox traherent in facta nepotes,
Undè ſuum Adamus ventura in ſæcula crimen
Spargeret; et, patrium mundo áverſante reatum,
Exigeret juſtas vindex Rhamnuſia pœnas?
Tùm rabidam princeps ſolitus frænare catervam
Imperio vulgi premitur, rerúmque magiſtros
Lege ſuâ populi magni regit omnipotens jus.
Vis regni, quâ ritè bonum commune tuemur,
Quàm malè defertur plebi? Nàm ſumma poteſtas
Si quando armatæ triſtis cadat hoſtia dextræ,
Quis certam rebus poterit ſpondere ſalutem?
Sed neque adorandi ſemper præconia veri
Spargit vox populi; paritèrque erroris opacis
Involvi tenebris uni licet, atque cohorti.
Scilicet innocuas virgas plebs ægra laceſſet,
Queſta ſcelus duri, ſtragéſque, & flagra tyranni.
Quæ datur incerto juris menſura popello
Qui celer ad metam cùm jàm defluxerit imam,
Trudit iter, rapidamque citatior urget aquæ vim?
Nec turbas ſolùm informes, vulgùmque profanum
Hi ſtimulant æſtus; magnis fanaticus error

Conciliis irrepſit, & iracunda Diana:
Cùm civile nefas, junctique inſania ferri
Feralem imbueret regali ſanguine dextram;
Et ficto auguſtum fœdaret crimine nomen.
Quod ſi illis ea ſit rerum conceſſa poteſtas,
Et rapere, & raptos aliis tranſmittere faſces,
Non tantùm regalis honos, atque æmula cœli
Gloria vaneſcet moriens; ſed magna fatiſcet
Imperii moles, & rupti machina regni
Antiquos repetens ortus, ubi ſortibus æquis
Vivitur; & pleno liceat dare vela furori.
Libera ſed dentur populo ſuffragia:—Nùm quis
Regalem admoto ſedem petat ariete, quæ jam
Pondere fixa ſuo validis radicibus hæret?
Nàm populo, quâcunque gemens ſub mole laboret,
Intendunt duplices mutata pericula pœnas.
Pulſa quidem hùc illùc aliis reſpublica damnis
Diſtrahitur: ſed enim nullâ ſub lege vagantes
In nova fert animos lævi inclementia cœli.
Siqua vetus moles jàm jàm lapſura, cadentique
Imminet aſſimilis, dubias fulcire ruinas
Sis memor, & tremulos valido tibicine poſtes;
Hactenus officii labor eſt: ſed meta labori
Hæc ſtet fixa ſuo: ſiquid temerarius ultrà
Moliris, ſanctam digito violaveris arcam.
Relligione ſacras ædes, ſenióque verendas
Eruere, atque imis evertere fundamentis,
Hoc iſtis incumbat onus, qui turpiter audent,
Qui terrâ cœlóque ratas exſcindere leges

Aggreſſi

Aggreſſi dominos furiali marte laceſſunt.
Qui, laxis cùm jam laterum compagibus omnem
Miſcuerint penitus molem, tùm partibus ægris
(Proh ſcelus!) impendunt medicæ miracula dextræ.
Uſque adeo herbarum vires, atque invida ſucci
Copia luſtratas vitiantem tabe medullas
Eliciunt peſtem, & gravioris ſemina morbi.
Se quibus obſeſſum Jeſſides muniat armis?
Heu nimis infauſtum pietas ſua regibus omen!
Fida cohors raro nùnc perſonat atria cœtu:
Regis nempe favor duram (pro tempora!) vulgo
Accendit rabiem, & plebeias aſperat iras.
At neque Jeſſæis deerat nùnc turba periclis,
Inconcuſſa tenens dubio veſtigia regno:
Hos memorem; ſequitur memoratum gloria nomen.
Ante omnes princeps, parvâ ſtipante catervâ,
Barzillai * ſtetit; ille annis tituliſque verendus
Barzillai, qui dextrâ olim crudele rebelli
(Ultra ſpumantem Jordani fluminis undam)
Extorſit ferrum, & ſurgentes contudit iras;
Hoſtili tandem, nec diis, nec viribus æquis,
(Heu fruſtrà audacem!) turmæ congreſſus, herili
Succubuit fato, ſocioſque per omnia luctus
Pertulit, & paribus fixit veſtigia curis,
Donec longa dies patriâ conſidere terrâ
Juſſit, & in ſolido rurſus fortuna locavit.
Fraus illi neſcire dolos, dùm nomine ſolo
Aulicus, effuſo ſparſit vaga munera nimbo,
Et crevere pares, auro creſcente, favores,

* D. de Ormond.

Ille opibus juvit, vultu ille accendit amico
Bellantemque ducem, & referentes bella Camenas,
Natorum incanum quondam numeroſa parentem
Turba coronabat: primum nunc ſtirpis honorem *
Spemque domûs orbæ dolet.—Illum ego "ſemper
"acerbum
"Semper honoratum (ſic dii voluiſtis) habebo."
Illum ego—adhuc viridi florentem robore, lævis
Ereptum auſpiciis, & iniqui crimine fati:
Ante tamen ſummæ tangentem culmina famæ;
Ante & muneribus functum, quæcunque parenti
Debuit, aut regi. Properanti meta laborum
Longa ſtetit, medii longum æquoris intervallum:
Ille uſque obſtanti ſpatio, poſt terga reliquit
Temporis haud æquas, pedibus pernicior, alas.
O nimis anguſti conſtrictus limite gyri
Circulus! at toto, quaquà patet, integer orbe.
Terra tuis infecta, tuis rubet unda, triumphis;
Arma tibi in votis, tibi Mars & prælia cordi,
Cùm tua Sidonios virtus infracta maniplos
Fulſerit, attonitis rediit Niloticus alis
Victor, & alterni erubuit diſcrimina fati.
"Heu pietas! heu priſca fides! invictaque bello
"Dextera! non illi ſe quiſquam impunè tuliſſet
"Obvius armato."———
Ah! nimiùm Judæa tuis indigna trophæis!
"Immodicis brevis eſt ætas, & rara ſenectus."
Dùm læva (heu!) noſtram meditantur fidera cladem,
Succeſſuſque novos ſpectant, metuuntque futuros,

* Comes Oſſoriæ.

Te

Te rapit atra dies; & fumere mergit acerbo,
Irrita ne fixi reddas præfagia cœli.
Nunc fugis exutō terreñæ pondere molis,
Et vagus " inſueti limen miraris Olympi,
" Sub pedibus nubeſque videns, & ſidera," longo
Illinc cognatas poſſis diducere turmas
Ordine, & inſidiis fracto ſuccurrere regi.
Siſte gradus hic, Muſa, tuos; hic exue pennas:
Siſte gradus.—Quis enim tanti faſtigia clivi
Aſcenſu ſuperat?—Mihi jam nimis alta petenti,
Et mœſtum rauco modulanti gutture carmen,
Deficiunt vires.—Quid te juvat uſque morari,
O anima, erepto domino? ni fortè ſub umbras
Fugiſti comes; & lugubrem hunc marmore verſum
Incidi placuit, monumentum & pignus amoris.
Ergo age, præcipiti delabens tramite terras
Reſpice deſertas; ſimilemque per atria regum
Quære virum.—Heu ſimilem nequicquam!—Ecce alter ab illo,
Leviticæ Zadoc * cuſtos ſanctiſſimus aræ,
Qui tulit invitus (Judæi inſignia myſtæ)
Fulgentem in gremio thoracem, in vertice mithram,
Et juxta Solymæ Præſes †, quem larga bonorum
Pectora nobilitant, & aviti ſtemmatis ordo.
Heſperii Laris Antiſtes, cui copia torrens
Dicendi, validi ſemper comes argumenti.
His ſuper exemplis jampridem accenſa juventus
Inſtituit primos regi muſiſque labores.
Scilicet auſpiciis florent regalibus; & quas
Rex habet infeſtas, & habent collegia, turmas.

* Archiepiſc. Sancroft. † Epiſc. Compton.

Hos à calce premunt Judæi gloria roſtri,
Qui juris nodos, & legum ænigmata ſolvunt.
Exiguum hinc fidumque ducum ſeſe explicat agmen:
Ante omnes Adriel*, venam natura benignam
Cui tribuit, ſolidæque argutum mentis acumen.
Pieridum fautor: nectit ſed & ipſe canoris
Eloquium vocale modis.—Fervente ſenatu,
Jus ſacrum aſſeruit regni, non turpiter audax.
Hinc Jeſſæus amor titulis adjunxit avitis
Haud merito nati raptam de tempore laurum.
Hûc etiam Jothamus† adeſt, cui divite venâ
Largus & exundans prompti fluit ingenii fons.
Edoctus regere occulto fluitantia cœtu
Conſilia, & dubiæ moderari fræna catervæ.
Ille ubi jam medios ſenſit delapſus in hoſtes
Feſtinata retro præceps veſtigia torſit;
Ancipitemque ſuo firmavit pondere lancem.
Tantam unus tremulæ libræ molem intulit heros.
Nunc, Muſa, Huſhæum‡ memora, civilibus iris
Jactatum, populique minis, per iniqua viarum
Jeſſidæ comitem. Peregrino ſidere rerum
Fluctibus in mediis teneros exercuit annos,
Nativaſque auxit cana experientia dotes.
Olli parca manus: regalis parca crumenæ,
Larga ſuæ. Pleno facilè invigilabis acervo;
Sed tenuem cauto moliri pectore gazam
"Hoc opus, hic labor eſt" ———
Tum ſacra principibus creſcit languetve poteſtas,
Cum ſua vulgus emant, cum vendant jura tyranni.

* Comes Mulgrave. † Dominus Dartmouth.
‡ Hyde, Comes Roſſenſis.

"Extre-

" Extremum hunc Amieli *, Erato, concede la-
" borem,"
Feſſa licet: Quis non Amielem carmine laudet?
Non tam illum proavi, veterique a ſanguine ſanguis,
Quàm ſua nobilitat virtus; hâc ille frementem
Hinc atque hinc æquâ libravit lance ſenatum;
Inflexitque animos dictis, & pectora mulſit,
Conſiliis acer jus non violabile regni
Aſſeruit, patriæque fidem: quaſi clauſerat uno
Pectore adhuc breviùs triplicis compendia gentis.
At nunc præcipites undantia lora remittunt
Aurigæ; juvat hos ignoto tramite labi:
Hi temerè annorum, veluti Clymeneia proles †,
Æternas miſcere vices, fixumque tenorem
Mutare, & ſtabiles fati confundere leges.
Interea hæc Amiel vultu miſeratus amico
Spectat; & exuto curarum pondere, carpit
Emeritam placidâ compoſtus pace quietem.
Jeſſæi en comites! Solymæ qui clauſtra tueri,
Et conjuratis auſi ſe opponere turmis,
Contra ibant vulgi rabiem, tela aſpera contra:
Exigui numero, ſed bello vivida virtus.
Scilicet inſurgunt iræ, dolor oſſibus ardet,
Cùm crebris laxi nutarent mœnia regni
Ictibus, & validis tremerent impulſa lacertis.
Dehinc numeroſa cohors, fictis exterrita monſtris,
Imperii decus, & regalia jura, ſenatu
Judice, plebeiâ gaudet truncare ſecuri.
Quin & nativo pulſus late regius hæres,

* Seymourius, Domûs inferioris Orator. † Phaëton.

Era-

Fraternoque ſinu ſceptris prohibetur avitis:
Atque immanè fremunt conducti in FOEDERA teſtes.
Quæ ſimul ac duri ſenſit præludia fati
Fida manus regem officio trepidante ſalutans
His animum accendit dictis, & vulnerat aures.
Nempe monet, caſſos in vulgum exire favores,
Imis jàm penitus morbum inſediſſe medullis,
Hauſurùmque novas leni à medicamine vires.
Abſolon intereà, regni quem cæca libido
Tranſverſum exagitat, turbam mirâ arte ſequacem
Allicit, & placido circumquáque implicat hamo.
Nec minùs Achitophel ſtimulis agitatus amaris
Inſidias ſtruit, atque horrendi FOEDERIS umbrâ
Communem ſolii miſcet templíque ruinam.
Effera concilium rabies agit, effera plebem:
Signifer Iſacidis fauſtum execrantibus omen
Prætendit Shimei, & feralibus imbuit iris.
Talia per populum paſſim Jeſſeïus heros
Et videt, & magno curarum fluctuat æſtu:
Tandem animi victus, dubioſque in corde volutans
Eventus ſecum, ſolio ſic orſus ab alto
Increpuit gentes, & fatis ora reſolvit.
Conticuêre omnes; multúſque ad terga ſatelles
Aure bibit Divum Jeſſæâ in voce Tonantem.
" Hactenùs innocuam frænavit gratia dextram,
Luctantes preſſi ſimulatâ mente dolores
Hactenùs; ultriceſque latent in pectore curæ.
Uſque adeo ſæc'li juvat in pejora ruentis
Abſolviſſe nefas: animóque inſcripta paterno

Regalem uſque adeò pietas compeſcuit iram.
At nunc tanta rapit miſeros inſania cives,
Ut noſtræ paſſim ſubeant faſtidia pacis;
Ipſi aſpernantur veniam me judice fontes.
Unum pro multis ſtatui caput, uſque fatemur:
Scilicet ut magno (neque enim ſors altera regum eſt)
Imperio populos teneat, frænetque rebelles.
Ergone, quòd leni perfuſæ ſanguine venæ
Dulcè micant, timidum gens arguet atque puſillum?
Fallitur; ingentes animos vindicta laceſſit
Segnior, & raræ magno ſtant pectore flammæ.
Si tamen accenſos ſtimulis haud mollibus æſtus
Irritare juvet; non me pietate coactâ
Sentiet elicitos pridèm ſparſiſſe favores.
Quæ noſtro ingeritur cumulata infamia tergo
Gibboſi melius premat horrida dorſa cameli.
Fulcra quidem divûm ſtatuuntur munere reges,
Quorum humeris regni moles oneroſa recumbat.
Ille meus Samſon tremulas ſi forte columnas
Succutiat fidens, ſociam trahat uſque ruinam.
Quanquàm ô ſi madidis tandem defleret ocellis
Antiquum ſcelus, & priſcæ veſtigia culpæ!
Quàm caræ ſoboli juvet ignoviſſe parentem!
Quantula (proh ſuperi!) lacrymarum copia mentem
Molliret patriam, cùm pectora fortior urget
Impetus, & natura ſuum tutatur alumnum!
Heu nimiùm miſerande puer! cui ſemper, anhelæ
Quicquid vis animæ potuit perferre, paterni

Stulta

Stulta animi indulſit pietas, & amabilis error.
Imperii ſi fortè decus bona fata dediſſent,
Non adeò parcus juveni præcordia Titan
Finxerat, aut tenues naſcenti inſeverat ignes.
Nomine publicolæ captus! qui jure tyrannos
(Ut nunc ſæc'la ferunt) antiquâ pelleret aulâ.
Patricio vafro pia larva! & turgidus heros
Grataṇti populo.—Nondùm, niſi læva fuiſſent
Pectora, publicolæ quiſquam captavit honores.
Unde illo potiùs quàm Davide gaudeat infans
Relligio, & legum juſtiſſima cura patrono?
Iſte catus ſcelerum libertatiſque magiſter
Achitophel, noſtri cùm pridèm liminis hoſpes
Manſerit, haud tantas aluit ſub pectore flammas.
Heu pia ſeditio qualem ſine more furenti
Publicolæ obtendit nubem! Quicunque tyranno
Hoſtis erit, populi decus audiet, & tutamen.
Hæredemne juvat noſtris obtrudere ſceptris?
Partiri cautum decuit ſua rura ſenatum,
Rex ego ſum, ſaltémque mei pars integra regni:
Miſcentur plebeiæ, & me quoque judice, ſortes.
Nolenti regem licet extorquere futurum?
Quidni etiam ſolio liceat me pellere avito?
Noſtra quidem junctis poſcunt ſuffragia votis;
Eſavi ſed enim ſetoſis hiſpida villis
Brachia, Jacobi placidæ quàm diſſona linguæ
Regalem cives precibuſque & thure ſalutem
Uſque atque uſque rogant; quam ut poſſint ritè
tueri

Dant

Dant requiem ſceptrò, atque ingentibus otia curis.
Lenè fluant, ſuperi, placidæ bona gaudia vitæ;
Nec puros ſcelus, aut rabies fanatica ſoles
Inquinet: ante omnes orantem avertite turbam!
Hanc immenſa fames, & inexorabile pectus
Exagitat; non ſic infœcundi inſtat & urget
Vox uteri; non ſic avidi jejuna ſepulchri
Vis furit; aut tanto vaſtum os expandit hiatu:
Plura petunt, quàm quæ votis ſuffecerit æther.
Ergò ſtat inſomni tandem componere curâ
Relliquias ſceptri, & ſumptis tutarier armis.
Integra lex placidas regni moderetur habenas,
Atque eadem turmas juſto premat enſe rebelles.
Non ultrà adſtrictos ſolvent ſuffragia faſces,
Quorum vi junctis præſtat pars altera membris.
Haud noſtris ultrà laribus gens fida clientum
Inſanis populi clamoribus acta recedet.
Non vulgo imperium virgæ, rigidæque ſecuris
Tradetur, nullis qui miſtâ ſortibus urnâ
Ultrices fuſo poſcant cum ſanguine pœnas.
Scilicet & divi, & divûm cognata poteſtas
Uſque cavo famulos gaudent umbone tueri.
O! mihi ſi nullo dextram maculâſſe cruore
Detur, & æternâ frontem circundare olivâ!
Quid Nemeſin cogor, poſt tempora longa, recluſam
Eripere, & multâ obductum rubigine ferrum?
Proh lex ſæva nimis, diri ſoror horrida Lethi!
Quàm malè degenerem tranquillâ à fronte timorem
Arguit infeſti male-ſuada inſania vulgi!

Pacati caveas rabiem furiáſque lacerti:
Ergo, Aſtræa, tuum, quem flagitat, exere vultum!
Cervicis teneræ laſcivos paſcere ocellos
Intuith piguit: pleno juvat ore tueri,
Atque oculos tentare tuos, & fidere morti.
Jam ſuus artificem Lethi (ſic volvere Parcas)
Trans adiget mucro, gratíſque occumbet in armis.
Se ferient teſtes gladiis in mutua ſtrictis
Viſcera, dùm primos horrendi FOEDERIS ortus,
Maternúmque uterum penitùs mandúntque, trahúnt-[que,
Vipereo ſimiles generi: tum protinùs atram
Uſque bibant ſaniem, juvet uſque haurire cruorem,
Unde priùs teneræ traxerunt ſemina vitæ.
Belzebub in fratrem Belial ruet, hoſtis in hoſtem.
Nec minor eventu ſpes eſt: nam, more ferino,
Turba ferox belli totas in limine vires
Impendunt, primòque animas in vulnere ponunt.
Ergo age, præcipiti juvet indulgere furori;
His tu cede malis, nec contrà audentior ito;
Obliquàque latus, gyròque elude ſequentem.
Corpore cùm ſudor (nec reſpirare poteſtas)
Liquitur, & feſſas quatit æger anhelitus artus;
Tùm demùm geminas intende in prælia vires;
Nec mora, nec requies, quin ferreus ingruat im-[ber.
Nempe æquam melior cauſam qui protegit heros
Sede diù quanquam pulſus, tandem impiger hoſtes
Sernit humi victor; campòque potitur operto."

Dixerat.

Dixerat. Omnipotens fauſtùm ter vertice cano
Annuit, & totum tonitu tremefecit Olympum.
Hìnc anni fluere, hìnc ſec'lorum naſcier ordo
Lætus ab integro, & magni procedere menſes;
Jeſſides iterùm ſolio conſedit avito;
Et placido junctas tenuit ſub fœdere gentes.

IN OBITUM

Egregii Juvenis ***** SHIRLEY*.

I.

DUM te canoræ turba ſciens lyræ
Urgent ademptum flebilibus modis,
Hoc, dulcis Umbra, ne recuſes
Officium tenuis Camenæ.

II.

Cui ſi favebit Phœbus amicior,
Tot illa famæ, chare Puer, tuæ
Apponet annos, quot caducæ
Mors adimit properata vitæ.

* Whatever were the demerits of Curll, we owe to him the preſervation of this delicate little Elegy. On the ſtrength of this ſingle poem, and our Author's Speech on being admitted to the Deanry of Chriſt-Church; Curll ventured to call a whole volume by the title of ATTERBURYANA. They were communicated to him by the Biſhop's ſon in 1726; and are undoubtedly genuine.—Not ſo the "Feſtum Luſtrale, ſeu Baptizata Ruſtica," which has been aſcribed to Atterbury; but was in reality the production of Loveling, with whoſe poems it is printed. The verſion of Cato's ſoliloquy (which in the Biographia is ſuppoſed to be Atterbury's) was certainly by Dr. Bland.

III. Non

III.

Non hic fideles quod bene feceris,
Chartæ ſilebunt, te Pudor & Fides
Commendat *, integrique mores,
Et decorans benè nata virtus.

IV.

Præſens fugacem ſiſtere ſpiritum
Heu! nulla Virtus, nec Pietas moram,
Pudorve, febri luctuoſæ
Attulit indomitæque morti.

V.

Quid illa velox profuit indoles
Aut mens virilis? O nimium breve,
Virtutis ævum! præcociſque
Ingenii fragiles honores.

VI.

Sic mille flores inter amabiles
Narciſſus horti gloria, verticem
Attollit altè, mox reclinem
Sternit humi pluvialis auſter.

* The metre here requires "Commendat," but the grammar "Commendant." EDIT.

EPIGRAM,

EPIGRAM, from Bp. ATTERBURY's MSS.

"VIVITE, AIT, FUGIO."

Abentem tacito quiſquis pede conſpicis umbram,
Si ſapis, hæc audis: 'Vivite, nam fugio.'
Utilis eſt oculis, nec inutilis auribus umbra;
Dum tacet, exclamat, 'Vivite, nam fugio.'

EPITAPH in St. Botolph's Biſhop's-gate *.

HIC conjuncta ſuo recubat Franciſca marito,
Et cinis eſt unus quæ fuit una caro.
Huc cineres concire ſuos ſoror Anna jubebat,
Corpora ſic uno pulvere trina jacent.
Ille opifex rerum Omnipotens, qui trinus & unus,
Pulvere ab hoc uno corpora trina dabit.

* I give this epitaph conjecturally to the Biſhop, it having been found among his papers. Two tranſlations are here ſubjoined:

"Here lie interr'd an huſband and a wife,
One duſt in death, as once one fleſh in life.
A ſiſter's mingled aſhes here repoſe,
Three bodies thus one heap of duſt compoſe.
Thou, Power Almighty, Three in One, wilt raiſe
Three ſeveral bodies from one common maſs."

"Below an huſband and a wife are laid,
One fleſh when living, and one duſt now dead.
A ſiſter's aſhes mingle in the urn,
And thus three bodies to one duſt return.
But thou, O Three in One, Almighty Power,
From this one duſt three bodies wilt reſtore."

HORACE*, BOOK II. ODE III.
IMITATED BY ATTERBURY.

I.

BE calm, my Dellius, and ſerene,
However Fortune change the ſcene!
In thy moſt dejected ſtate,
Sink not underneath the weight:
Nor yet, when happy days begin,
And the full tide comes rolling in,
Let a fierce unruly joy
The ſettled quiet of thy mind deſtroy:
However Fortune change the ſcene,
Be calm, my Dellius, and ſerene!

II.

Be thy lot good, or be it ill,
Life ebbs out at the ſame rate ſtill:
Whether, with buſy cares oppreſt,
You wear the ſullen time away;
Or whether to ſweet eaſe or reſt
You ſometimes give a day;
Careleſsly laid
Underneath a friendly ſhade,
By pines and poplars mix'd embraces made;
Near a river's ſliding ſtream,
Fetter'd in ſleep, bleſs'd with a golden dream.

* There can be no doubt of this tranſlation's being properly aſcribed to Atterbury. Two lines of it are expreſſly quoted as his by Pope, in a paſſage I have already had occaſion to produce, vol. I. p. 145.

III. Her-,

III.

Here, Here, in this much envy'd ſtate,
Let every bleſſing on thee wait;
Bid the Syrian nard be brought,
Bid the hidden wine be ſought,
And let the roſe's ſhort-liv'd flower,
The ſmiling daughter of an hour,
Flouriſh on thy brow:
Enjoy the very, very now!
While the good hand of life is in,
While yet the fatal ſiſters ſpin.

IV.

A little hence, my friend, and thou
Muſt into other hands reſign
Thy gardens and thy parks, and all that now
Bears the pleaſing name of thine!
Thy meadows, by whoſe planted tides,
Silver Tyber * gently glides!
Thy pleaſant houſes; all muſt go;
The gold that 's hoarded in them too:
A jolly heir ſhall ſet it free,
And give th' impriſon'd monarchs liberty.

* Which, by the bye, is a muddy *yellow* ſtream! EDITOR.

V.

Nor matters it, what figure here,
Thou doſt among thy fellow-mortals bear;
How thou wert born, or how begot;
Impartial Death matters it not:
With what titles thou doſt ſhine,
Or who was firſt of all thy line:
Life's vain amuſements! amidſt which we dwell;
Nor weigh'd, nor underſtood, by the grim god of hell!

VI.

In the ſame road, alas! all travel on!
By all alike the ſame ſad journey muſt be gone!
Our blended lots together lie,
Mingled in one common urn:
Sooner or later out they fly;
The fatal boat then wafts us to the ſhore,
Whence we never ſhall return,
Never!——never more!

HORACE,

HORACE, BOOK III. ODE IX.

IMITATED BY ATTERBURY.

HORACE.

WHILST I was fond, and you were kind,
Nor any dearer youth, reclin'd
On your ſoft boſom, ſought to reſt,
Phraätes was not half ſo bleſt. 4

LYDIA.

Whilſt you ador'd no other face,
Nor lov'd me in the ſecond place,
My happy celebrated fame
Outſhone ev'n Ilia's envy'd flame. 8

HO-

VARIATIONS.

Ver. 4. " *Not Perſia's Monarch* was ſo bleſt.
7. " *Your Lydia's* celebrated fame.
8. " Out-ſhone *the Roman* Ilia's name.

* " The learned Scaliger was infinitely fond of this Ode, and of the Third Ode of the Fourth Book, as appears by his own remarkable words in the Sixth Book of his Poetics: 'Omnes Horatii Odæ tantæ ſunt venuſtatis,' &c. All the Odes of Horace are ſo beautiful, that they have effectually diſcouraged me; and all perſons of common prudence, from any attempts of the ſame kind. But I have taken notice of two in particular, than which I do not think Ambroſia or Nectar can be ſweeter. One of them is the Third of the Fourth Book, 'Quem tu, Melpomene, ſemel,' &c. and the other the Ninth of the Third Book, 'Donec gratus eram tibi,' &c. I had rather have written Odes like theſe than any of Pindar's, or even than to be king of all Arragon.' The Prelate, whoſe elegant tranſlation we have here adopted, was probably of the ſame opinion, ſince he has tranſlated theſe two Odes; and, as far as we know, theſe two only." I copy this note from Mr. Duncombe's Horace.

" Perhaps no Ode of Horace hath ſo frequently been tranſlated as the Dialogue between him and Lydia. This we have often been

HORACE.

Me Chloe now poſſeſſes whole,
Her voice and lyre command my ſoul:
Nor would I death itſelf decline,
Could her life ranſom'd be with mine.

LYDIA.

For me young lovely Calais burns,
And warmth for warmth my heart returns:
Twice would I life with eaſe reſign,
Could his be ranſom'd once with mine.

HORACE.

What if ſweet Love, whoſe bands we broke,
Again ſhould tame us to the yoke;
Should baniſh'd Chloe ceaſe to reign,
And Lydia her loſt power regain?

VARIATIONS.

Ver. 12. "*Could I redeem her life* with mine.
15. "Twice would I life *for him* reſign,
16. "Could his be ranſom'd *thus* with mine,
17. "What if *the God*—
19. "*What if my* Chloe—

ſurprized at, as certainly there is nothing extraordinary in the Ode itſelf. The chief thing that recommends it, is the eaſy elegance and gracefulneſs of its expreſſion, which is probably the reaſon why it hath been ſo popular, and hath produced ſuch a number of imitators; of whom, however, few have ſucceeded. Of all the verſions of it that we recollect at preſent, Atterbury's is by far the beſt. Were we not afraid of offending our claſſical readers, we ſhould almoſt be tempted to ſay, that it is equal to the original; a thing which can ſcarcely ever be ſaid of the tranſlations of Horace." Dr. KIPPIS, in Biog. Brit.

It has been well obſerved by Mr. Maty, that "I've kiſs'd and I've prattled with fifty fair maids," in Mrs. Brooke's Roſina, is almoſt equal to this dialogue of Horace.

LYDIA.

LYDIA.

Though Heſperus be leſs fair than he,
Though wilder than the raging ſea,
Lighter than down; yet gladly I
With thee would live, with thee would die. 24

VARIATION.

21. "Though *Phoſphor*"—

HORACE, BOOK IV. ODE III.

IMITATED BY ATTERBURY*.

TO HIS MUSE, BY WHOSE FAVOUR HE ACQUIRES IMMORTAL FAME.

HE, on whoſe birth the Lyric Queen
Of numbers ſmil'd, ſhall never grace
The Iſthmian gauntlet, nor be ſeen
First in the fam'd Olympic race. 4

* "Any one who hath a genius for poetry," ſays a learned correſpondent, "will agree with me in wiſhing that Atterbury had never had any other occupation but poetry. His fame as a politician or a divine is not equal to what he deſerves for this tranſlation, which is, without exception, the beſt in any language that I have met with." This, undoubtedly, is carrying the encomium on Dr. Atterbury's poetical talent very far; and yet we can ſcarcely venture to ſay that it is carried too far. There is ſomething ſo exceedingly beautiful in the ſpecimens which are given of his early turn for poetry, that it is greatly to be regretted that he did not more direct his thoughts that way. The tranſlation of this Ode is in the higheſt degree beautiful. The Ode itſelf, in the original, is peculiarly excellent and delightful; and Dr. Atterbury hath moſt happily ſucceeded in cloathing it in an Engliſh dreſs. It was judicious in Dr. Francis not to attempt a new verſion of this Ode, after ſo admirable a one was furniſhed to his hands. And he juſtly obſerves, that by Biſhop Atterbury's ſucceſs we may be convinced that it is not impoſſible to render Horace into Engliſh without any great loſs of his original beauties." Dr. KIPPIS.

He ſhall not, after toils of war,
And taming haughty monarchs pride,
With laurel'd brows conſpicuous far,
To Jove's Tarpeian temple ride.
But him the ſtreams, that warbling flow
Rich Tyber's flowery meads along,
And ſhady groves (his haunts) ſhall know
The maſter of the Æolian ſong.
The ſons of Rome, majeſtic Rome!
Have fix'd me in the Poets choir;
And, Envy now or dead or dumb,
Forbear to blame what they admire.
Goddeſs of the ſweet-ſounding lute,
Which thy harmonious touch obeys,
Who canſt the finny race, though mute,
To cygnets dying accents raiſe;
Thy gift it is, that all with eaſe
My new unrival'd honours own;
That I ſtill live, and living pleaſe,
O Goddeſs, is thy gift alone.

VARIATIONS.

Ver. 15. And Envy, now or deaf or dumb,
16. *Forbears* to blame, &c.
23. " That *while* I live *my numbers* pleaſe,
24. " *If pleaſing*,"—

HORACE, BOOK I. PART OF EPIST. X.

CErvus equum, pugnâ melior, communibus herbis
Pellebat; donec minor in certamine longo
Imploravit opes hominis, frænumque recepit.
Sed poſtquam victor violens diſceſſit ab hoſte,
Non equitem dorſo, non frænum depulit ore.

IMITATED BY ATTERBURY;

AND TAKEN FROM HIS MSS.

THE horſe and ſtag, in common paſture bred,
Diſputed for the ſpot on which they fed:
With heels and head long was the ſtrife purſued,
And combat after combat ſtill renew'd;
Till, worſted in the fray, the horſe began
To quit the field, and crav'd the aid of man,
Who mounted on his back — — —

And now, obedient to the whip and ſpur,
The Vanquiſh'd triumph'd o'er the Vanquiſher,
But loſt his freedom, while the prize he gain'd,
And was, for ever after, rode and rein'd.
Britain, beware, the tale is told to thee;
Free, as thou art, ſo ſtill continue free!

THE

THE BEE.

IMITATED BY ATTERBURY

FROM THEOCRITUS *, IDYLL. XIX.

CUPID, the archeſt rogue alive,
One day was plundering of a hive:
But, as with too, too eager haſte
He went the liquid ſweets to taſte,
A bee ſurpriz'd the heedleſs boy;
Prick'd him, and daſh'd th' expected joy,
The urchin, when he felt the ſmart
Of the envenom'd angry dart,
He kick'd, he flung, he beat the ground;
He blow'd, and then he chaff'd the wound
He blow'd and chaff'd the wound in vain;
The rubbing ſtill increas'd the pain.
Straight to his mother's lap he hies,
With ſwelling cheeks, and blubber'd eyes.
Cries ſhe—'What does my Cupid ail?'
When thus he told his mournful tale:
"A little bird they call a bee,
With yellow wings; ſee, mother, ſee
How it has gor'd, and wounded me!"
'And are not you,' reply'd his mother,
'For all the world juſt ſuch another?
Juſt ſuch another waſpiſh thing,
Like in bulk, and like in ſting?

* As it had before been by Theocritus from Anacreon, Ode XI. Both poems are excellently tranſlated by Mr. Fawkes.—The preſent imitation, which had crept into Dryden's "Miſcellanies" under the title of "The Honey Stealer," is corrected from the Biſhop's MSS.

For, when you aim a poiſonous dart
Againſt ſome poor unwary heart,
How little is the archer found!
And yet how wide, how deep the wound!'

EPIGRAM, BY ATTERBURY*;

WRITTEN ON A WHITE FAN BORROWED FROM MISS OSBORNE, AFTERWARDS HIS WIFE.

FLAVIA the leaſt and ſlighteſt toy
Can with reſiſtleſs art employ;
This Fan in meaner hands would prove
An engine of ſmall force in love;
Yet ſhe, with graceful air and mien,
Not to be told, or ſafely ſeen,
Directs its wanton motions ſo,
That it wounds more than Cupid's bow;
Gives coolneſs to the matchleſs dame;
To every other breaſt—a flame.

* Thus imitated by Dr. BIRCH, in 1725.

In Puellam quandam Flabello ludentem.

QUALIS minimas venuſta tricas
Et quâ Flavia tractat arte! paſſim
In ſe lumina cuncta vertit unam.
Flabellum in manibus minùs peritis
Vel tantillùm in amore vix valeret.
Hoc pulcherrima Nympha tam decorè
(Quod nec dicere, nec videre tutò
Poſſis) jactitat hinc & hinc, ut iſtud
Cordi vulnera plura dat tenello
Quam velox Paphii ſagitta Divi;
Dumque aurâ dominæ calentis artus
Grata ventilat, heu! flagramus æſtu.

SONG.

SONG.

FROM BP. ATTERBURY'S MSS.

FAIR Sylvia, ceaſe to blame my youth
For having lov'd before;
So men, till they have learn'd the truth,
Strange Deities adore.

My heart, 'tis true, hath often rang'd
Like bees on gaudy flowers *,
And many a thouſand loves hath chang'd
Till it was fix'd on yours.

But, Sylvia, when I ſaw thoſe eyes,
'Twas ſoon determin'd there,
Stars might as well forſake the ſkies,
And vaniſh into air.

When I from this great rule do err,
New beauties to adore;
May I again turn wanderer,
And never ſettle more!

* Hence again Mrs. Brooke appears to have caught
"From flower to flower gay roving," &c.

SONG.

SONG *,

FROM BP. ATTERBURY'S MSS.

YOU ſay, you love! Repeat again,
Repeat th' amazing ſound;
Repeat the eaſe of all my pain,
The cure of every wound.

What you to thouſands have deny'd,
To me you freely give;
Whilſt I in humble ſilence died,
Your mercy bid me live.

So on cold Latmos' top each night
Endymion ſighing lay,
Gaz'd on the Moon's tranſcendent light,
Deſpair'd, and durſt not pray.

But divine Cynthia ſaw his grief,
Th' effect of conquering charms;
Unaſk'd, the Goddeſs brings relief,
And falls into his arms.

* This Song (it ſhould be acknowledged) has alſo been claimed by Dr. King, and is printed in that truly humourous writer's poetical works.

EPITAPH ON PHILIPS,

IN WESTMINSTER-ABBEY*.

Herefordiæ conduntur Oſſa,
Hoc in Delubro ſtatuitur Imago,
Britanniam omnem pervagatur Fama
JOHANNIS PHILIPS:
Qui Viris bonis doctiſque juxta charus,
Immortale ſuum Ingenium,
Eruditione multiplici excultum,
Miro animi candore,
Eximiâ morum ſimplicitate,
Honeſtavit.
Litterarum Amœniorum ſitim,
Quam Wintoniæ Puer ſentire cœperat,
Inter Ædis Chriſti Alumnos jugiter explevit,
In illo Muſarum Domicilio
Præclaris Æmulorum ſtudiis excitatus,
Optimis ſcribendi Magiſtris ſemper intentus,
Carmina ſermone Patrio compoſuit
A Græcis Latiniſque fontibus feliciter deducta,
Atticis Romaniſque auribus omnino digna,
Verſuum quippe Harmoniam
Rythmo didicerat.

* "The inſcription [on Philips] at Weſtminſter was written, "as I have heard, by Dr. Atterbury, though commonly given to "Dr. Freind." Dr. JOHNSON.

Antiquo

Antiquo illo, libero, multiformi
Ad res ipſas apto prorſus, & attemperato,
Non Numeris in eundem ferè orbem redeuntibus,
Non Clauſularum ſimiliter cadentium ſono
Metiri:
Uni in hoc laudis genere Miltono fecundus,
Primoque pœne Par.
Res ſeu Tenues, ſeu Grandes, ſeu Mediocres
Ornandas ſumſerat,
Nuſquam, non quod decuit,
Et videt, & aſſecutus eſt,
Egregius, quocunque Stylum verteret,
Fandi author, & Modorum artifex.
Fas ſit Huic,
Auſo licèt à tuâ Metrorum Lege diſcedere
O Poeſis Anglicanæ Pater, atque Conditor, Chaucere,
Alterum tibi latus claudere,
Vatum certe Cineres, tuos undique ſtipantium
Non dedecebit Chorum.
SIMON HARCOURT Miles,
Viri benè de ſe, de Litteris meriti
Quoad viveret Fautor,
Poſt Obitum piè memor,
Hoc illi Saxum poni voluit.
J. PHILIPS, STEPHANI, S. T. P. Archidiaconi
Salop, Filius, natus eſt Bamptoniæ
in agro Oxon. Dec. 30, 1676.
Obiit Herefordiæ, Feb. 15, 1708.

A PA-

A PANEGYRICK, 1731 *.

WITH Favour and Fortune faſtidiouſly bleſt,
He's loud in his laugh, and coarſe in his jeſt;
Of Favour and Fortune unmerited vain,
A Sharper in trifles, a Dupe in the main,
Atchieving of Nothing, ſtill promiſing Wonders,
By dint of Experience improving in Blunders;
Oppreſſing true Merit, exalting the Baſe;
And ſelling his Country to purchaſe a Place;
A Jobber of Stocks by retailing falſe news,
A Prater at court in the ſtyle of the Mews;
Of Virtue and Worth by profeſſion a Giber;
Of Juries and Senates the Bully and Briber.
Though I name not the Wretch, you know whom I mean,
'Tis the Cur-dog of Britain, and Spaniel of Spain.

* It is not quite certain whether this ſevere character (now for the firſt time printed) was by Atterbury, or his friend Weſley. It is the communication of a correſpondent; as are the following lines, which Atterbury is ſaid to have repeated with great emotion on a noble Lord's quitting his apartment, after propoſing and improperly preſſing ſome terms which the Biſhop had rejected with diſdain:

"Unmov'd by pity, and by ſhame unaw'd,
The genuine ſpawn of bully and of bawd;
Ungrateful to th' ungrateful wretch he grew by,
A baſeborn, blundering, bluſtering, bloody, booby!"

THE

THE BLACK-BIRD.

WRITTEN DURING BP. ATTERBURY'S CONFINEMENT;

and found among the Papers of the late SAMUEL WESLEY, M. A.

TO whom ſhould grateful verſe belong?
Who but the Black-bird claims my ſong?
When all the natives of the grove
Yielded obedience to the Dove,
How chearful on the green-wood ſpray
He warbled through the live-long day!
His muſic gladden'd every hill:
All but Canary-birds were ſtill!
The Finches, a melodious throng,
Would ſometimes liſten to his ſong;
And, charm'd with his harmonious lays,
Though ſeldom imitate, would praiſe.
Now foes inhuman pluck his wing,
And cage him that he ſhould not ſing,
Nor chaunt his native wood-notes free,
But loſe the thoughts of liberty.
Say, ſhall recording verſe diſcloſe
The names and natures of his foes?
The boding Screech-owl, prophet ſad,
The Vulture, feeder on the dead,
The Harpy, ravenous and impure,
The Hawk, obſequious to the lure,

The noiſy, ſenſeleſs, chattering Pye,
The mere Lord William of the ſky:
Nor ſhall the Bat unmention'd be,
A mongrel, twilight trimmer he;
When empire is to fowls transferr'd,
He claps his wings, and is a bird:
When ſtronger beaſts the conqueſt get,
He lights, and walks upon four feet:
With crafty ſlight or ſubtle pace,
Still ſafe without an act of grace.
The Kite, fit gaoler, muſt be nam'd,
In proſe and verſe already fam'd,
Bold to kill mice, and now and then
To ſteal a chicken from a hen;
None readier was, when ſeiz'd, to ſlay,
And after to diſſect the prey,
With all the inſolence can riſe
From power when join'd to cowardice.
The captive Black-bird kept his cheer:
The Gaoler anxious ſhook with fear,
Leſt roguiſh traitors ſhould conſpire
T'unbolt the door, or break the wire:—
Traitors if e'er they ſilence broke,
And diſaffected if they look,
For (by himſelf he judg'd) his prey,
If once let looſe, would fly away.

On

On Biſhop ATTERBURY's roaſting Lord CONINGSBY about the topic of being Prieſt-ridden.

By Mr. S. WESLEY.

AN Aſs well drubb'd with ſturdy oak,
Once on a time complaining ſpoke,
Rebuking Prophet mounted high,
That ſtill laid on, yet ſcarce knew why.
Of this in memory, of late,
A lordly Aſs in warm debate
Began to open wide; when Proph
(For brevity and rhimeſake Roff.)
On the dull creature got aſtride,
And ſpurr'd, and gall'd, and bang'd his ſide.
Each Aſs then ſerv'd by way of pad:
One Balaam rode, *one* Francis Dad.
They both did ſpeak, and both were beat,
Yet ſtill *this* differ did from *that*;
For *that* was ſmote before ſpeech made,
But *this* juſt after what he ſaid;
From whence, beſt judges do maintain,
That Aſs ſpoke better of the twain.
O Coningſby, learn wiſdom hence,
And give the prophets no offence;
For Levi's Tribe beſt know the art
How to make Iſſachars to ſmart.

On the Death of Mrs. MORICE*, Daughter of the Biſhop of ROCHESTER.

By Mr. S. WESLEY.

——"Heu! nunc miſero mihi demum
Exilium infelix! nunc altè vulnus adactum."

NO fabling ſong, my mournful heart, eſſay;
But genuine grief adorn the flowing lay:
In numbers ſuch as Friendſhip can inſpire,
Wail the loſt Daughter, and the living Sire:
Till flinty breaſts reſiſtleſs ſorrow know,
And melt reluctant at another's woe;
Till party zeal the Father ſhall deplore,
And thoſe who hate him moſt ſhall pity more.

What

* The following extracts of letters from Biſhop Atterbury, occaſioned by this fine poem, are too much to Mr. Weſley's honour not to be inſerted (I wiſh I could have given them entire.)

"April 24, 1730.

"I HAVE received a poem from Mr. Morice, which I muſt be inſenſible not to thank you for, your Elegy upon the death of Mrs. Morice. It is what I cannot help an impulſe upon me to tell you, under my own hand, the ſatisfaction I feel, the approbation I give, the envy I bear you, for this good deed and good work; as a poet and as a man, I thank you, I eſteem you."

"Paris, May 27, 1730.

"I AM obliged to W. for what he has written on my dear child; and take it the more kindly, becauſe he could not hope for my being ever in a condition to reward him—though, if ever I am, I will; for he has ſhewn an invariable regard for me all along in all circumſtances; and much more than ſome of his acquaintance, who had ten times greater obligations."

"Pari-,

What time the State its indignation ſhed,
And lanc'd its ſecond thunder on his head:
When Nobles judg'd the well-defended cauſe,
And Commons' care ſupply'd defective laws;
Then firſt the wound relentleſs fortune made,
Which, feſtering, ſecret on her vitals prey'd.
Guiltleſs ſhe pin'd, or wholly guiltleſs ſhe,
Or only ſtain'd with filial piety.
In vain might friends to ſooth her anguiſh try,
No friend a father's abſence could ſupply;
No darling children could afford relief,
Nor parent's fondneſs heal the daughter's grief:
No ſweets of life ſufficient balm could prove,
Not the dear ſoftneſs of a wedded love:

"Paris, June 30, 1730.

"THE verſes you ſent me touched me very nearly, and the Latin in the front of them as much as the Engliſh that followed. There are a great many good lines in them, and they are writ with as much affection as poetry—They came from the heart of the author, and he has a ſhare of mine in return; and if ever I come back to my country with honour, he ſhall find it."

It has been thought, and not without reaſon, that Mr. Weſley's attachment to this great Prelate prevented his advancement. In an excellent elegy on Biſhop Gaſtrell, Weſley ſays,

"The Prelate doom'd in exile ſad to rove,
(Forgive, ye great ones, for I ſtill muſt love!)
Ere yet the thunder from its cloud was fled,
Or lanc'd the lightning pointed at his head,
Found Gaſtrell firm an Enemy to defend;
Let cowards leave, and villains crouſh, a Friend:
No conſcious guilt in common danger ty'd,
No partial favour warp'd him to his ſide.
You that in pomp of grandeur ſtrut your hour,
In bright meridian of an envy'd power,
Try all your friends, of every rank and kind,
A man like this amid your thouſands find:
Nor levées throng'd his equal can ſupply;
Nor honours gain you, nor exchequers buy!"

The pangs of loſs unbated ſtill endure,
She taſtes no cordial, and admits no cure.
With health-impairing ſighs, unſeen decay,
She wears the ſlender threads of life away:
Nor eaſe, nor period, can her mourning have,
But the dark ſhelter of the quiet grave.
So when Italians, with deſtructive ſkill,
Or Indians rude in good, but learn'd in ill,
A fatal draught mix for their ſecret foe,
Avoidleſs ſure, yet unſuſpected ſlow,
The latent death creeps on with lingering ſmart,
And mocks the antidotes of human art:
So imperceptibly the work is done,
That nature half miſtakes it for her own.

When inward fretting grief had almoſt drain'd
Her ebbing veins, nor much of life remain'd,
Each hour her pious prayers more ardent grow
To meet her exil'd father once below.
Whoe'er the hazards of her health diſplay,
Againſt their purpoſe urge her ſpeedy way,
Leſt death prevent her reaching Gallia's ſhore;
That only ſting the king of terrors bore.
Still pleaſing hope her ſickly limbs upheld,
Weakneſs itſelf, by true affection ſteel'd,
Diſtance, and toils, and dangers could diſdain,
And ſeas and mountains were oppos'd in vain.
Riſe to her wiſhes, riſe, propitious gales,
And with new ſwiftneſs wing the flagging ſails.

What

What ſails can equal to her wiſhes go?
The tide rolls tedious, and the wind flies ſlow;
The penſive days in heavy march proceed,
Time, ever-haſting, ſeems to ſlack his ſpeed:
For love too ſlow, for life he flies too faſt,
And every painful hour forebodes the laſt.
Long-ſwooning faintneſs wakes her conſort's fear,
And waning ſtrength ſhews diſſolution near.
Her ſoul, unconquer'd yet, diſdains to part,
And holds the citadel of love, the heart;
Determin'd ſtedfaſt not to ſeek the ſkies,
Till the dear father bleſs her longing eyes.
In vain did nature, ſpent, forbid her ſtay,
And guardian angels beckon her away:
With frailer fleſh th' immortal ſpirit ſtrove,
Strong to delay the ſtroke, though not remove,
And death all-conquering yields a while to love.
So the brave Theban Chief, transfix'd by foes,
(With whom Bœotia's empire fell and roſe)
To death, though deeply wounded, ſcorns to yield,
Till his lov'd ſoldiers gain'd the well-fought field;
Then bids his willing ſoul triumphant fly,
And when his vows are heard, conſents to die.
Behold they meet! ſo Providence decrees,
All ſhe deſires on earth on earth ſhe ſees:
Her terrors now are ceas'd; when he is near,
Her father's daughter knows not how to fear.
The long-fought ſtrife her ſpirit now gave o'er,
And ſought the quiet that it ſhunn'd before.

The father bleſs'd her ere to heaven ſhe went,
The prieſt abſolv'd the dying penitent.
But leſt ſhe grieve for ſorrows not her own,
And nature's yearning cauſe a ſingle groan,
He, ſelf-collected, check'd th' aſcending ſigh,
And ſpringing tears commanded from his eye.
Meanwhile his aching heart tumultuous ſtrove
With grief deſpairing and paternal love;
Love inly wounds him with diſtracting woe,
Compels to feel it, but forbids to ſhow,
His voice unfaultering, and his looks ſerene,
An outward calmneſs veils the ſtorm within.
So when, in ſubterranean caverns pent,
The wind, hard-ſtruggling labour for a vent,
Direful, but ſecret, works the mine below,
Strong and more ſtrong th' impriſon'd tempeſts grow:
The ſurface ſmiles, and verdant fields appear
Secure, and far from danger as from fear:
Not long: for inſtant ſprings the breaking ground,
And ſcatters waſte avoidleſs all around.

When death had ſeal'd her eyes in laſting ſleep,
And gave th' afflicted father leave to weep,
In words like theſe burſts his long-ſtifled moan
(If any may be liken'd to his own):
"Is this the healing of my former care?
"This the ſad anſwer of continued prayer?
"No longer ſpace could angry heaven beſtow?
"And thus! thus only! muſt we meet below?

" Me to remoteſt realms my fortune ſends,
" Depriv'd of preſent, nay, of abſent friends:
" 'Tis fatal with my woes to ſympathize!
" He dies who writes, as he who ſees me dies!
" Nor ev'n this exile ſeem'd enough ſevere,
" To my loſt country Bruſſels roſe too near!
" Nor Paris' walls theſe hoary hairs can ſcreen,
" My fate purſues me to the banks of Seine!
" Let it purſue!. Still, ſtill could I withſtand
" The utmoſt fury of a mortal hand;
" But with reſiſtleſs force the vengeance flies,
" When GOD inflicts the Pains and Penalties.
" Yet, oh! had judgement fall'n on me alone,
" Nor broke a heart far dearer than my own!
" The arrow glancing pierc'd her faithful ſide,
" For me ſhe languiſh'd, and for me ſhe died!
" My late ſole ſtay!——

But hold—if ſpeech the anguiſh may reveal,
He only can deſcribe it, who could feel.
Then ceaſe, my ſoul, oh! ceaſe the plaintive tale,
And where the pencil fails thee, draw the veil.
Yet, ſtill himſelf let the Great Prelate know,
Still rais'd ſuperior to his weight of woe;
Inſtruct mankind their load of life to bear,
And ſhame the murmurer, and the wretched chear:
Try'd, not forſook; one refuge yet remains,
So nature's everlaſting law ordains;

Which

Which ſtateſmen's art and ſoldiers' force defies,
And mocks the rage of keeneſt enemies;
Which kindly ſoftens the ſevereſt doom,
The loſer's conqueſt, and the exile's home:
To that ſure refuge let him calmly fly,
And bleſs the glorious privilege—To die.
Late may he land on that ſafe happy ſhore,
Where loſs afflicts, and pain torments no more:
There ſleep, from grief and baniſhment releas'd,
And there the wearied father lie at reſt;
His courſe well ended, heavenly glory ſhare,
And riſe triumphant to the laſt great bar!

ELEGY

ELEGY * on Biſhop ATTERBURY.

By SAMUEL WESLEY, M. A.

" There the wicked ceaſe from troubling, and there
" the weary are at reſt." JOB.

LOVE, ſtrong as death, my glowing heart inſpire,
" And blend the Chriſtian's with the Poet's fire;
Adorn a Father's fame with pious lays,
Till faction pardon, if ſhe dare not praiſe!
Should miſcreants baſe their impious malice ſhed,
T' inſult the great, the venerable dead;
Let Truth reſiſtleſs blaſt their guilty eyes,
" Bright as from clouds the red-wing'd lightning flies;
Bright as the ſword of flame that guarded Paradiſe!
Attend, ye good! whoſe zeal unſhaken owns
The churches, altars, and the prelates thrones.
Ye wiſe and juſt! who hate the devil's plea,
Excuſing crimes by feign'd neceſſity:
" Ye firm and brave! whoſe courage ſcorns to bend,
" Nor ſtoops in danger to deſert a friend:

* All the lines marked thus (") were added or altered (by the ingenious friend to whom the Editor is indebted for this communication) to compleat the poem; the original being very imperfect.

Ye

Ye plain and true! who, ſcann'd by hoſtile eyes,
Diſdain the mean advantage of diſguiſe:
Ye pure of hand! whom knaves for idiots hold,
Deſpiſing luſtre of ill-gotten gold:
" Faithful, but few! to you my ſtrains belong,
" Applaud my friendſhip, and accept my ſong.
Hail, happy Sire! The pain of life is o'er,
Stranger and wandering pilgrim now no more;
" At home—at reſt—ſecure in bliſsful ſkies,
" Where Envy drops its ſnakes, and Fraud its guiſe.
See ſeraph guards the ſtarry crown prepare,
" See ſmiling angels fly to greet thee there!
Lo, * Hyde to exile doom'd on earth alone,
" Springs to ſalute thee from his azure throne.
Nor yet below thy envy'd glory dies:
" Long as the ſun rolls o'er th' empyreal ſkies;
" When pyramids, unfaithful to their truſt,
" Crumble to atoms with their founder's duſt;
" When ſolid marble, mouldering, waſtes away,
And deſert lies the monumented clay;
Thou ſtill ſhalt live, to deathleſs fame conſign'd;
" Live like the beſt and braveſt of mankind.
Where ſleeps great Hannibal, the ſcourge of Rome?
" Or who can point out awful Cato's tomb?
What breathing buſts, what ſculptur'd angels riſe,
T' adorn the place where Charles the Martyr lies?

* Lord Clarendon.

No burial rites his impious hangmen gave,
Not the poor favour of a decent grave.
When Anna reſts, with kindred aſhes laid,
What funeral honours grace her injur'd ſhade?
A few faint tapers glimmer'd through the night,
And ſcanty ſable ſhock'd the loyal ſight.
Though millions wail'd her, none compos'd her train.
Compell'd to grieve, forbidden to complain.
How idly ſcornful the contempt expreſs'd,
How mean the triumph o'er a ſaint deceas'd!
So when Death's bloodieſt paths the Martyrs trod,
" To conſcience faithful, firm to Heaven and God,
Th' inſulting foe their bones, to duſt calcin'd,
Gave to the flowing ſtream and flying wind.
Vain was the tyrant's art, the dæmon's vain,
In heights, in depths, their atoms ſafe remain:
" Heaven views its treaſure with a watchful eye,
" Till the laſt trumpet calls it to the ſky.
Nor more can powers infernal ſtrike with dread
The ſoul when living, than the body dead,
Where grace divine, with native courage join'd,
" Inſpirits and exalts the Chriſtian's mind.
When hapleſs James, with rage untimely ſhown,
For Rome's ungrateful Pontiff riſqu'd his throne;
And boaſted Jeſuits hop'd our fall to ſee,
With Julian's ſpite, without his ſubtlety;
The faithful prieſt our ſuffering church defends,
Careleſs of mighty foes and feeble friends;

His

His early pen for pure religion draws
With ſtrength and fervour worthy of its cauſe.
So when brave Luther ſtemm'd Corruption's tide,
With Zeal, and Truth, and Conſcience, on his ſide,
" Him nor loud threats nor whiſpers low could ſtay,
" Nor chains, nor racks, nor fires, obſtruct his way—
" Reſolv'd t'oppoſe proud Babel's haughty powers,
" And make Rome tremble through her ſevenfold towers.

When William reigns, the valiant and the wiſe,
And foes profeſt to Prieſtly Synods riſe,
To check incroaching power, the Champion fights
For long-neglected ſacerdotal rights.
Scarcely the adverſe Chief his force withſtands,
Till rais'd and ſtrengthen'd by imperial hands.
Theſe * point the labour, and reward aſſign,
Direct the battery, and inſtruct the mine;
" Th' exhauſted war renew with weapons keen,
" Near though in clouds, and mighty though unſeen.
So the good Dardan Prince, as Virgil feign'd,
With Fates and Gods averſe, a war maintain'd,
Dauntleſs in flames:—till his enlighten'd eyes
Againſt his Troy beheld Immortals riſe;
Juno and Pallas lead their Greeks to charge,
And Jove overſhades them with his ſovereign targe;

* Alluding, we ſuppoſe, to Dr. Atterbury's diſpute with Dr. Wake, afterwards Abp. of Canterbury, and others, concerning the rights and privileges of the Convocation; a controverſy, in all probability, privately fomented and encouraged by King William, who, being a Diſſenter, might wiſh to effect an abridgement of that Aſſembly's powers.

Neptune

Neptune enrag'd o'erwhelms the ſmoaking walls,
And by the hand that rais'd her Ilium falls.
Perpetual ſtorms his ſteady mind engage,
Trials of warmeſt youth and wiſeſt age.
" Whatever frauds to legal craft belong,
" Mazes of lies, and labyrinths of wrong;
" Whate'er unjuſt in precedent appears,
" Shaded with darkneſs of revolving years,
" Till wrong ſeems ripen'd into right by time,
" And age makes theft a venerable crime;—
(While fond of preſent reſt the Reverend Drone
Buys his own eaſe with treaſures not his own:)
Whate'er of weight is caſt on Friendſhip's ſide,
By miniſterial guile and lordly pride;
Skilful to ſearch, and faithful to diſplay,
And bold to call forth midnight into day;
To no baſe arts his ſteady virtue leans,
Diſdaining conqueſt by ignoble means;
" Purſuing Truth with ever active fire,
" And dauntleſs to aſſert as to enquire.
In vain or power or wealth the tempter ſhews,
Or friends intreating turn inſidious foes;
" Nor ſmootheſt prayers divert, nor danger awes
" From gaining malice, while he gains his cauſe.
So when to Abram's firſt-born ſon were given
The temporal bleſſings of propitious Heaven,
Though doom'd from Canaan baniſhment to bear,
The fate was proſperous, and the lot was fair.
Behold him great in height of battle grow!
Still ſtrong his arm, ſtill prevalent of bow!

Ordain'd

Ordain'd by none to fall; yet all t'oppoſe,
A ſingle conqueror, with the world his foes!
To mightier dangers yet his virtues riſe,
His panoply no common vengeance tries,
From long-collecting ſtores the treaſur'd thunder flies.
" Lightnings thick ſhot around his temples glare,
" Aim'd rightly by the Regent of the Air,
" Actors were choſe, ſkill'd in hell's deepeſt plots;
" Actors, to whom th' Arch-fiend himſelf allots
" The very eſſence of a Devil's ſin,
" His rage to ruin, and his craft to win—
He * who ſo gold perpetual worſhip gave,
Secret as night, unſated as the grave,
To friendſhip blind, ſharp-ſighted to a bribe,
The ſubtleſt artiſt of the ſubtleſt tribe;
Whoſe deep-affronted avarice combines
With craft outwitted by its own deſigns,
Full on that head their utmoſt rage to ſhower,
Who ſpurn'd at tender'd gold, and offer'd power—
† He who, by fortune rais'd, is vain of ſkill;
Who laughs at right and wrong, at good and ill;
Patron of every art, in every kind,
T'unnerve the body, and debaſe the mind;
Provok'd by virtues of the wiſe and brave,
" Of blackeſt crimes protector, friend and ſlave—
He who with ſelf-importance ſwells debate,
† Whoſe rancour no revenge can ever fate;

* Perhaps Lord Chancellor Macclesfield.
† Doubtful.

Ravenous

Ravenous for gain, yet loud for commonweal,
With party-madneſs and inverted zeal,
" With more than lordly haughtineſs poſſeſt,
" And proudly prates of honour long deceas'd!
Eternal, reſtleſs enemy to good,
By pride, by ſect, by climate, and by blood.
" To dark oblivion let the reſt be given,
" Loſt to the world, as they are loſt to heaven.
When Britain wept for avarice of ſtate,
And threatenings loud alarm'd the guilty great,
Wide and more wide were ſpread the wretch's moans,
The widow's wailings, and the orphan's groans;
While injur'd thouſands vengeance juſt require,
Convuls'd like Ætna, ere it burſts in fire;
What ſecret art, what Machiavelian hand
Could turn the torrent no man could withſtand?
" What ſpell could univerſal wrath appeaſe?
" Could deep amazement bid their tumult ceaſe?
" Unuſual objects charm their angry eyes,
" Amuſe the curious, and perplex the wiſe?
" No!—Let the weight on ATTERBURY fall,
" Devoted victim to atone for all."
So if old tales, t' illuſtrate truth preſume,
When Earth wide-opening threaten'd general doom,
Nor prayers nor tears could calm her labouring breaſt;
Nought but the richeſt treaſure Rome poſſeſt;

The Dæmon-Gods pronounc'd avoidleſs fate,
" And all Jove's Miniſters of wrath and ſtate:
" In vain their much-lov'd ſtores the wealthy bear,
" Their arms the brave, their ornaments the fair;
A growing ſepulchre the gulph expos'd,
And not, till Curtius plung'd, the cavern clos'd.
But not to death his foes their hate purſu'd,
Nor ſtain the bluſhing earth with hallow'd blood.
For lo! imperial mercy found the way
To call the blood-hounds from their deſtin'd prey.
Soon as the ſovereign will their purpoſe croſs'd,
The rage of faction for a ſpace was loſt:
The deepeſt throats their cries for death ſuſpend,
And thoſe who late accus'd him, now commend.
Unmark'd before, what great endowments riſe!
What matchleſs virtue ſparkles to their eyes!
" So Satan view'd the parent of mankind,
" And felt ſoft pity melt his ſtubborn mind.
" Unknown remorſe his wandering thought employs,
" He mourns the Eden that himſelf deſtroys.
" Awhile the ſight his curs'd intent remov'd,
" And, had he not betray'd her, he had lov'd.
" What laſt remains to crown each glorious
" deed,
Such virtues to reward and to exceed?

" What but to meet unmov'd the judgement-day,
" When all the ſcenes of nature ſhall decay;
" When penal fire conſumes each trembling coaſt,
And ſeas coeval with the world are loſt;
" When diſcord blends the orders of the ſky
" In wild confuſion: then to lift the eye
" Dauntleſs and firm, midſt ruins to rejoice,
" When Power Divine its own effect deſtroys;
" With gratulations hymn th' Almighty's rod,
" Strong, not in Nature, but in Nature's GOD.

ODE on the Death of Biſhop ATTERBURY.

From a Copy printed by CURLL.

I.

YOU who would build yourſelves eternal fame,
Live to the world, and be for ever known,
Chuſe out ſome eminently virtuous name,
And try to blend it with your own:
But praiſe no wretch, by fraud or rapine great,
Becauſe he can reward thy toils with pelf:
If ſo, you juſtly ſhare the villain's fate,
And draw a nation's curſes on yourſelf.
A nobler theme preſents itſelf to all,
(Ye learn'd, your Atterbury 's dead)
'Tis Virtue's funeral.

II.

If, when he died, the angels did rejoice,
Join'd by his harp to ſing th' Almighty's praiſe,
Have we not cauſe to weep for ſuch a loſs,
What greater ſubject can demand our lays?
Ye noble ſouls who did his friendſhip ſhare,
'Tis you alone my ſorrows would addreſs,
I know how virtuous, and how few, you are,
And wiſh no other hearers, were you leſs;
But would go thither, whereſoe'er you went,
An honourable death to ſhare,
Or noble baniſhment.

III.

III.

No laurels, no rewards, attend this verſe,
It is too honeſt for the world's applauſe;
Be it my wealth to weep upon thy hearſe,
My glory, ever to defend thy cauſe.
I boaſt ſome merit; 'tis to love thy name,
This is a privilege no laws deny;
'Tis Laurels, Glory, Wealth, Applauſe, and Fame,
And I would do it, were I ſure to die.
For in thee living we alone might find
More Friendſhip, Honour, Senſe, and Truth,
Than now is left behind.

IV.

With early ſpeed he follow'd Virtue's chace,
Still as ſhe fled him, did he not purſue?
With added vigour and redoubled pace,
What cannot exemplary Virtue do?
Whate'er he did, 'twas there he did excel,
The Husband, Father, Maſter, or the Friend,
Were all perform'd ſo tenderly and well,
'Twas hard to ſay where moſt we might commend:
Time, to thy wing, and bring me if you can,
'Mongſt all thy dead and living ſtore,
To ſuch another man.

V.

As the high-creſted oak, which long had ſtood
The tempeſt's ſhock, and the fierce lightning's blaze;
Whole ages flouriſhing o'er all the wood,
The lenient hand of time at length decays;
So with unſhaken zeal did he oppoſe
The factious inſolence, the impious hate,
The malice, rage, and turbulence of thoſe,
Who ſought ſubverſion to the Church and State.
Heaven ſaw, was pleas'd, then call'd him to receive
What none but the approv'd can know,
And none but God can give.

WHAT-

WHATEVER may be thought of Biſhop Atterbury as a Politician; there cannot be a ſecond opinion in reſpect to his unrivalled talents. His fame, as a divine, an orator, and a polite ſcholar, preceded all his travels abroad, wherever he went in his exile. The Doctors of the Sorbonne well weighed the great atchievement and mighty acquiſition which would attend their bringing over this great man to their communion. In order to this, they ſent a ſelect deputation to the Biſhop, to invite his Lordſhip to a conference on the ſubject of the differences between the Proteſtant and Catholick churches, hoping to convince him of the ſinfulneſs of diſſenſion from their apoſtolic faith. The Biſhop received them with all the politeneſs of an accompliſhed gentleman, and the dignity of a prelate. He aſſented to their motion; and time and place were ſoon appointed for holding this conference, intended to proſelyte ſo great a man. The Doctors and his Lordſhip aſſembled; the points to be debated, and the authority for their determination, began to be agitated. The Biſhop, with that ſtrength of argument and beauty of eloquence he always poſſeſſed, urged, that the Bible muſt be their ſole and ultimate guide; to which the deputation aſſented. His Lordſhip then demanded what edition of the Bible they would abide by, for that a vaſt number of Bibles had been authoriſed by divers Popes and Councils, in oppoſition to one another. This ſo confounded theſe reverend Doctors, that they could not unanimouſly fix on one infallible edition of the Bible. Upon

this, Dr. Atterbury told them, there was an end of the pretended infallibility of their church; and the mortified Catholics retired, leaving the good Biſhop to live and die in their country within the pale of his own Proteſtant church, as he did, like a true ſon of it; and as in his younger days he had from the pulpit at St. Bride's church ſolemnly engaged to do: "Seven years," ſaid he *, "I "have from this place admoniſhed, exhorted, "beſought you: what ſucceſs theſe labours of "mine have had, He knows beſt for whoſe glory "they were deſigned. The infidelity of the age has "forced me to dwell often on the great articles "and myſteries of our Faith, and to explain them "largely: but I call GOD to witneſs, that I never "propoſed any explication of theſe points, never "recommended any thing of this kind to your "belief, but what I firmly, and from the bottom "of my heart, *believed myſelf* The Faith I have "delivered to you, the Faith of the Church of "England, into which we were all baptized, is, "I am entirely ſatisfied, the ſame that was *once* "*delivered to the ſaints.* I hope none of you will "be ever invited, by the ſpecious arts and inſi- "nuations of Hereſy, to depart from it. I am "ſure, the profeſſion of it, in all its branches and "members, is what, by the grace of GOD, I in- "tend to live and die in. The Church you are of "is, without doubt, the pureſt and ſoundeſt, the "moſt reaſonable and moderate Church upon "earth."

* In an admirable Farewell Sermon, Dec. 11, 1698. The date of this ſermon may in ſome meaſure fix the time of his taking orders, which his Biographers ſeem not to have known. It appears by his letter to his father that he was not in Orders in October 1690; and it appears by this ſermon that he was Lecturer of St Bride's in 1691. He preached before the Queen at Whitehall, May 29, 1692.

As

As to the literary merit of our Author, it may be no unpleaſing concluſion to this volume to annex the following teſtimonials.

"To the Author of the Daily Poſt. July 17, 1737.

"SIR,

"SUCH as were acquainted with the late Biſhop Atterbury cannot be diſpleaſed with the following character of him, from the pen of a candid, learned Frenchman. 'That juſtice is due to the memory of the dead, whether they were our friends, or our enemies, when living,' is a maxim among all civilized nations, and always generouſly followed by every man of honour and virtue. Biſhop Atterbury is now in no condition to hurt us by his politics. Whatever his principles were as to Government, he has long ſince given an account of them to the Supreme and Infallible Judge of all mankind. We have therefore nothing to do with any more of him at preſent, than to revere thoſe ſhining talents, and that ſuperlative learning, which rendered him one of the brighteſt ornaments of Britain, and the admiration of all her neighbours. When he was in France, what reſpect, what careſſes, did he not receive from her dignified clergy? What pains—what induſtry—what arguments—did they not employ to bring him over to their communion? This was a point which they purſued ſeveral years together, even to his laſt moments, with an aſſiduity altogether as indefatigable as it was fruitleſs; and I am perſuaded, they would have been as proud of gaining ſuch a man, as Columbus was of finding out a new world. But though the French clergy are indiſputably the moſt learned body in the whole Roman church, and,

and, impartially ſpeaking, not inferior in that reſpect to the clergy of any national church in Chriſtendom; yet all their reaſons could make no impreſſion on the invincible Atterbury. To their great regret, he died a ſound and unſhaken ſon of that church of which he had been ſo many years a moſt worthy Biſhop. But he never will die in the eſteem of the French, ſeveral of whom I have often heard ſay, they were ſorry his inflexibility had put it out of their power to pray for him.

"What I have related I was in ſome meaſure a witneſs of; though I never had any correſpondence with the Biſhop; and from his repugnance to Popery, even at a time and in circumſtances when moſt men are liable to be overcome by importunity, it is evident to demonſtration, that he never had the leaſt deſign or inclination in his conduct to contribute to the impoſing it upon his country, whatever his enemies have been pleaſed to charge him with. My requeſt therefore to you is, to be pleaſed to give this letter, and the following account of him, a place in your paper; and by ſo doing you will perhaps oblige multitudes, beſides, Sir, your moſt humble ſervant.

"Theſe miſtakes, as you ſee," ſays the learned author of 'Obſervations ſur les Ecrits modernes,' to his friend, "are not to be charged entirely to the account of Abbé G———; but there are others perſonal and particular to him. As for example, he attributes to Francis Atterbury, Biſhop of Rocheſter, who died in Paris, March 4 (N. S.) 1732, regretted by all the learned, and all the firſt-rate wits of that city, the famous Hardouin the Jeſuit's epitaph, inſerted in the firſt tome of the 'Nouvelliſte de Parnaſſe.' That attribution, nevertheleſs,

vertheleſs, is falſe; and I can aſſure you that the Biſhop did not compoſe that ingenious little piece. Permit me to give you greater eclairciſſements. Thoſe that were particularly acquainted with him know that he never meddled with our diſputes, and that he ſpoke Latin with an elegance and purity which I dare ſay few men ever came up to. No man ever ſo perfectly poſſeſſed the belles lettres, or better knew the fineſſe and delicacies of the authors of the Auguſtan age, whom he continually read. He was, without contradiction, one of the greateſt wits in England. He had read our beſt writers, and eſpecially the works of the great Boſſuet, and alſo of Boileau and Rouſſeau. Though he did not ſpeak our language, he knew its genius and its beauties. No fault in it eſcaped him, and I have been often aſtoniſhed at his ſagacity in that point. When Monſieur de la Motte declared openly againſt the rhime of our verſification, the Biſhop converſed with pleaſure on that ſubject; but though he was no more in love with rhime than that academiſt, he ſaid that M. de la Motte had not capacity enough to find in our language a harmony equivalent to it. Though he had principally applied himſelf to ſtudy the belles lettres, he had not neglected the eccleſiaſtical erudition. At Paris he began a work to prove the Divinity and Authenticity of the Holy Books, and went a great way in it. In 1731 he privately printed in that city a pamphlet, in quarto, in which he juſtifies himſelf from what Mr. Oldmixon reproaches him with, in the preface of his hiſtory of England, of having corrupted Lord Clarendon's manuſcripts. The author of 'the Bibliotheque rai-'ſonnée,' in publiſhing an extract of that hiſtory, gave the Biſhop of Rocheſter a ſort of defiance to

anſwer

anſwer it, and threatened him to take his ſilence as owning the falſification. I gave the Engliſh Prelate notice of what paſſed, and he thereupon reſolved to publiſh that anſwer, which carries in it equal force and politeneſs. He had but an hundred copies of it printed off, the greateſt part of which number was ſent to London, where the piece was ſoon reprinted.

Mr. Atterbury was an amiable, learned man, polite, and of a moſt agreeable converſation. He had nothing in him of that ſavage rudeneſs which generally characteriſes the learned. While he was in France, he wrote letters both in Latin and Engliſh to ſeveral perſons whom he honoured with his friendſhip. It is to be wiſhed they would print them. I ſhall with pleaſure furniſh thoſe he wrote to me, and Abbé D. F. can alſo produce a great number of his letters. Forgive me, I beſeech you, this long digreſſion, in favor of the greateſt man I ever knew.

"BISHOP ATTERBURY was a fine ſpeaker, and as correct and elegant a writer as this age has produced: he had a ſprightly invention, a clear and diſtinguiſhing judgement, a peculiar delicacy of thought, and ſuch a maſterly turn of expreſſion, as was able to ſuſtain the greateſt, and elevate the weakeſt ſubjects. In all kinds of writing he is a perfect pattern for ſtyle; his manner being every where beautiful, and ſuited to the nature of his compoſitions.

"In his ſermons he is clear and elegant, moving and ſublime. Never, perhaps, was there a more accompliſhed preacher than this eminent divine; he had a ſweet voice, a charming addreſs, and ſuch a graceful appearance, as engaged the atten-

attention of his audience at his firſt ſpeaking. No one could better inform the underſtanding, no one more forcibly affect the paſſions, than this noble orator. By the exactneſs of his method, and the propriety of his ſentiments, by the weight of his arguments, and the force of his reflections, he not only inſtructed, but fully convinced his hearers of the truth and importance of what he preached. Nor was he leſs ſucceſsful in his application to the paſſions; in this reſpect, he was a great maſter, and could make what impreſſions he pleaſed: thoſe pathetical ſtrains of oratory that ran through all his diſcourſes never failed to influence the wills of his auditors, and captivate the affections at pleaſure.

"And in his controverſial writings he is inimitable; for have we any thing of the like nature written with equal ſtrength and beauty in the Engliſh tongue? So much fire and ſpirit, amidſt ſuch an accuracy and propriety of thoughts and diction, is rarely to be met with in the compoſitions of the moſt eminent moderns.

"The arguments of this author are managed with the utmoſt dexterity, and adorned with all the delicate wit and keen ſatire that debates are capable of. The ſtrength of his genius, the warmth of his invention, and the beauty of his language, give him ſuch a ſuperiority over thoſe he was engaged with, that when truth was thought to be on the ſide of his antagoniſts, he had always the appearance of it.

"Even his Familiar Letters are admirable, and written with all the elegance of the epiſtolary ſtyle. We have here ſuch a mixture of genteel wit, and good ſenſe, adorned with ſuch a careleſs accuracy, ſuch a beautiful negligence of phraſe, as is no where to be met with

with but in the celebrated epiſtles of the ancients. Nor was his eloquence confined to his native tongue, he having a thorough knowledge of the purity and propriety, the force and elegance, of the learned languages. His Latin compoſitions are written in ſo pure and elegant a ſtyle, as comes very little ſhort of the dignity and ſtandard of the ancients. "There is nothing forced or unnatural (ſays the author of his Life*), nothing laboured or affected, in what he ſays; but every thing comes from him with that eaſe and freedom, and volubility of diction, that fall of period, and turn of expreſſion, as if he had been a native of ancient Rome, contemporary and rival to the famous Tully. No man (to conclude with the words of the ſame author) had a finer taſte, or was better acquainted with all kinds of polite learning, than Dr. Atterbury. No man was a greater maſter of the Scriptures, the Fathers, and the writings of all eminent divines, both ancient and modern, than he; no man underſtood the points of diſpute between us and the Church of Rome, as well as Diſſenters of all other denominations, better than he: but that which gave him a particular luſtre above his brethren, was the ſublime manner in which he always treated a ſubject, the clearneſs and connexion of his reaſoning, the ſtrength and purity of his ſtyle, and that peculiar art whereby he firſt inſtructed the underſtanding, and then, by a pleaſing violence, ſeized upon the paſſions, and led them captive where he would, and juſt as he pleaſed."

BOSWELL, Method of Study, 1738, Book I. p. 281.

* Stackhouſe.

"SCARCE

"SCARCE had the Genius finiſhed, when I beheld the gate, by which the Preſident entered, unfold, and through it diſcovered a long range of magnificent apartments nobly illuminated: upon this, my conductor told me that he muſt now leave me; that I ſhould ſoon ſee the reaſon, but he would return in an inſtant; that I might in the mean time be very eaſy, becauſe I was inperceptible to every eye. Having ſpoke thus, he vaniſhed; and I could perceive the Preſident and all the other members turn their eyes with a reſpectful awe towards the illuminated apartments, through which I ſaw a venerable form advancing, attended by my kind guardian; it was that of a man who had reached his great climacterick; his air was noble and compoſed, yet there was a vivacity in his looks, and the majeſty of his appearance was tempered with an inexpreſſible benignity. He was dreſſed plain, in a purple ſuit, and he took his ſeat in a chair of the ſame form with the Preſident's, but removed from the table where the reſt ſat. He was ſcarcely ſeated when I found my conductor again by my ſide, who prevented my impatience to know who this extraordinary perſonage was, by ſaying, 'That is Francis Atterbury, late Biſhop of Rocheſter! He appears here, continued he, in a lay habit; and the particular honours that are paid him, both by the aſſembly and myſelf, are due not only to his extraordinary parts, but to the generous cares he beſtowed on embelliſhing this fabrick. He has always declined to take his ſeat at the table, becauſe he was no profeſſed poet; but the little he has done that way, ſhews how eaſily he might have ſhined in that province; in this dome, where politics and faction

faction are buried, he enjoys the eaſe he always deſired."

I quote this paragraph from the admirable "Apotheoſis of Milton," one of the earlieſt productions of Dr. JOHNSON, in the Gentleman's Magazine, 1738, p. 522.

"THE Dean we heard the other day together is an orator. He has ſo much regard to his congregation, that he commits to his memory what he is to ſay to them; and has ſo ſoft and graceful a behaviour, that it muſt attract your attention. His perſon, it is to be confeſſed, is no ſmall recommendation; but he is to be highly commended for not loſing that advantage; and, adding to propriety of ſpeech which might paſs the criticiſm of Longinus, an action which would have been approved by Demoſthenes. He has a peculiar force in his way, and has charmed many of his audience who could not be intelligent hearers of his diſcourſe, were there not explanation as well as grace in his action. This art of his is uſed with the moſt exact and honeſt ſkill: he never attempts your paſſions until he has convinced your reaſon. All the objections, which he can form, are laid open and diſperſed, before he uſes the leaſt vehemence in his ſermon; but when he thinks he has your head, he very ſoon wins your heart; and never pretends to ſhew the beauty of holineſs, until he hath convinced you of the truth of it. Would every one of our clergymen be thus careful to recommend truth and virtue in their proper figures, and ſhew ſo much concern for them as to give them all the additional force they were able, it is not poſſible that nonſenſe

ſhould

ſhould have ſo many hearers as you find it has in diſſenting congregations, for no reaſon in the world but becauſe it is ſpoken *extempore*: for ordinary minds are wholly governed by their eyes and ears, and there is no way to come at their hearts, but by power over their imaginations." TATLER, N° 66.

"When my Favonius is acknowledged to be Doctor Smalridge, and the amiable character of the Dean to be drawn for Dr. Atterbury, I hope I need ſay no more as to my impartiality." Ibid. Preface to vol. IV.

"AMONG the many great Preachers of our age, no one, that ever I knew, had happier talents than Dr. Atterbury. His perſon was very well made; he had a gracefulneſs in his behaviour, and a kind of majeſtick gravity in his looks, that beſpoke him reverence whereſoever he came. His voice was not ſtrong; but there was ſomething ſo ſweet in his pronunciation, and ſo inſinuating in his addreſs, as gained him the poſſeſſion of an audience whenever he began to ſpeak: beſides this, he had a quick penetration, an exquiſite underſtanding, an eaſy comprehenſion, a ſprightly fancy and imagination, and ſolid judgement and good ſenſe; all united and combined together. In his Sermons, he is every way inexceptionable and praiſe-worthy. There is that exactneſs of method, and juſtneſs of thought, thoſe weighty arguments, judicious reflections, eaſy addreſs, and unaffected eloquence running through the whole, as denote him the celebrated Preacher that he was, and not undeſerving this commendation of his friend Smalridge: "With what applauſe has he often preached "before the people, the magiſtrates, the clergy, "the ſenate, and the court! how oft has the late

" Queen Mary (now gathered to the Saints above) " been charmed with his eloquence! and what " addreſs did he uſe in tempering the ſoul of her " Siſter *, when ſhe was almoſt oppreſſed and " overcome by her late affliction †!" The truth is, his talent, in this regard, was ſo very remarkable, that it may not be improperly ſaid, that he owed his preferment to the pulpit, nor any hard matter to trace him, through his writings, to his ſeveral promotions in the Church.

In 1692, when he was only Student of Chriſt-Church, he preached before Queen Mary, on the 29th of May, a Sermon about the Duty of Praiſe and Thankſgiving, which, in all probability, recommended him to be Chaplain to their Majeſties: and it was his famous Diſcourſe on the power of Charity to cover Sin, that induced the Governors of Bridewell-hoſpital to chuſe him their Preacher, and recommend him to St. Bride's ‡.

While he continued in this ſtation, the Convocation-controverſy ſprung up, and his Vindication of the Rights, Powers, and Privileges, of that Venerable Body (which he publiſhed in 1700) gained him great applauſe among his brethren, and proved a ſucceſsful ſtep to his future preferment.

In 1701, he preached before the Hon. Houſe of Commons, and gave ſuch an accurate deſcription of our Conſtitution, both Civil and Eccleſiaſtical, and ſuch a fine commendation of King William, as was a great means to continue him Chaplain after the Queen's deceaſe, and when others were removed from that honourable office.

* Queen Anne. † The death of the Prince of Denmark.

‡ Here is a ſmall miſtake in point of time. It has been already ſhewn, p. 438, that he held St. Bride's in 1691; and Mr. Boyle directed a letter to him at Bridewell-houſe in 1693 (ſee p. 17). The Sermon abovementioned was preached in Bridewell-chapel, Aug. 16, 1694.

Queen

Queen Anne, upon her acceſſion to the throne, made him her Chaplain; and advanced him afterwards to the Deanry of Carliſle, very probably, for the amiable character he had given her in his Sermon before the Houſe of Commons, on the 8th of March 1703-4.

Sir Jonathan Trelawney, then Lord Biſhop of Exeter, made him Archdeacon of Totneſs 1700, and Canon-Reſidentiary of Exeter 1707, for the reaſon he aſſigns in his elegant dedication to that Prelate *.

Sir John Trevor, a great diſcerner of men and their abilities, was ſo ſtruck with his fame, and charmed with his eloquence, that he made him Preacher of the Rolls-Chapel in 1709.

The Convocation of the Clergy choſe him unanimouſly their Prolocutor 1710, in thankful remembrance of the honour he had done them, when he magnified their Office, and evinced the dignity of the Prieſthood, in a florid diſcourſe before the Sons of the Clergy, not many months before.

It is certain, that his elegant and pathetic Sermon upon the death of Prince George, deſigned to move the paſſions, and calculated for the conſolation of the Queen, had this effect, that it gained him the Deanry of Chriſt-Church 1711, notwithſtanding the competition of Dr. Smalridge, no contemptible candidate, and the warm applications that, by men of power and authority, were made in his behalf: and it is not unlikely that the remembrance of the ſame Sermon pleaded in his favour, and mightily befriended the Earl of Oxford's recommendation of him, when the Queen was pleaſed, in 1713, to promote him to the Biſhoprick of Rocheſter.

* Printed in this volume, p. 274.

Thus happily was Dr. Atterbury endowed with the gifts of nature, and the embelliſhments of erudition. He had an affluence of fortune, and the favour of great men; the applauſe of his brethren, and the patronage of two Crowned Heads to glory in; a tide of preferments ſucceſſively coming in upon him, and a ſphere of action, conſidering his ſeveral dignities in the Church, commenſurate to his ſpirit. STACKHOUSE.

DR. DODDRIDGE *, in his unpubliſhed Lectures on Preaching, gives a ſhort view of the characters and qualifications of the moſt celebrated Divines of the laſt and preſent age, both Conformiſts and Nonconformiſts. Under the former head, he thus deſcribes Atterbury as a Preacher.

"ATTERBURY.

"The glory of Engliſh orators! His language "in its ſtricteſt purity and beauty: nothing dark, "nothing redundant, nothing defective, nothing "miſplaced. Trivial thoughts avoided; uncom-"mon ones introduced; ſet in a clear and ſtrong "light in a few words; a few admirable ſimiles; "graceful alluſions to ſcripture beyond any other "writer. On the whole, he is a model for courtly "preachers."

Dr. YOUNG ſays, Biſhop Atterbury was an admirable orator both in the pulpit and in the Houſe of Lords, &c. one of the beſt he ever heard.

Mr. JONES, MS.

* "If this teſtimony," ſays the ingenious friend who furniſhed it, "is of any ſervice (though indeed Atterbury's fame needs none) you may introduce it in your intended publication. It is chiefly remarkable, as it is the teſtimony of a *Diſſenter*."

ADDI-

ADDITIONS and CORRECTIONS

In VOLUME II.

P. 34. THE reader who is desirous of being better acquainted with Beau Feilding may consult either the "Lives of the Gamesters," or "Cases "of Divorce, &c. 1723;" where the first article is intituled, "Memoirs of the Life of Robert "Feilding, esq. containing an account of his "amours; with a true copy of his last will and "testament." He is mentioned by Dean Swift among those who have made "Mean Figures" on some remarkable occasions. His will was dated April 29, 1712, and proved on the 12th of May following. He was styled in it, "Robert "Feilding of Feilding hall, in the county of "Warwick, esq." and appears to have had some estates at Lutterworth.

P. 39. Swift mistook the object of Atterbury's wishes. It was on Winchester, and not either London or Canterbury, that he had set his mind. See the Preface to vol. I.

P. 47. Dr. Younger died Feb. 27, 1727-8, and was buried under the South aisle of St. Paul's cathedral, without any monument.

P. 129. l. 21. The *extraordinary step* is thus related by Stackhouse: "Orders were sent to the Tower, to seize all the seals that were found about him or his servants, and to bring them instantly away, to have their impressions compared. Colonel Williamson, in this, did no more than he was commanded; but, on the 5th of April, the Bishop sent a petition to the House of Lords, complaining, that the said Williamson, assisted by persons under

under his authority, had, by violence, ſearched him, carried away two ſeals, and ſeized a paper in his pocket, which was a letter to his ſolicitor: ſearched his two ſervants likewiſe, and taken away a ſeal from one of them; and thereupon praying, that, as a Lord of Parliament, and member of that houſe, he might have relief and protection.

P. 157. On the ſubject of Atterbury's conſulting the books of the church of Weſtminſter, it may be proper to cite the teſtimony of Mr. Addiſon, Spectator, N° 447.

"I have heard one of the greateſt Geniuſes this age has produced, who had been trained up in all the polite ſtudies of antiquity, aſſure me, upon his being obliged to ſearch into ſeveral rolls and records, that, notwithſtanding ſuch an employment was at firſt very dry and irkſome to him, he at laſt took an incredible pleaſure in it, and preferred it even to the reading of Virgil or Cicero."

P. 162. The book to which the Biſhop here refers was firſt publiſhed in quarto, under the title of "An Anſwer to ſome Conſiderations on the "Spirit of Martin Luther, and the Original of the "Reformation; lately printed at Oxford, 1687 *." It was this vindication of the great Reformer that induced Biſhop Burnet to rank the author among thoſe eminent Divines who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their admirable defences of the Proteſtant Religion. An 8vo edition of it was printed in 1723. The original preface is here ſubjoined:

"When I firſt happened upon this Pamphlet, and, by ſome peculiar beauties in the ſtyle, eaſily diſcovered its owner, I was, I muſt confeſs, not a little ſurprized: I could not have imagined that a man of ſo big a reputation as the author of the

* The *Imprimatur* is dated July 29, 1687.

'Guide

'Guide in Controverſy*;' one, whoſe thoughts had for ſome years converſed with nothing leſs than Oecumenical Councils, Popes, and Patriarchs, ſhould quit all thoſe fine amuſements for the humble taſk of life writing, and drawing of characters. It was mean prey, I thought, for a bird of his pounces; and the deſign he did it with made it ten times more a riddle. The doctrines of the Reformation have, for near two centuries, kept the field againſt all encounterers: and does he think they may be foiled at laſt by two or three little remarks upon the life and actions of a ſingle Reformer? But it looks like a jeſt, when the irregularities committed by Luther in Germany, are turned upon us here in England: as if any thing that he ſaid or did could affect a Church eſtabliſhed upon its own bottom, and as independent on any foreign authorities as the Crown her Defender wears. Luther's voice is indeed to us what our author terms it, 'the voice of the ſtranger;' and though we are always ready to wipe off the unjuſt aſperſions caſt upon him by his enemies, yet this is what we are obliged to, not as ſons, but as friends. Whenever injured Virtue is ſet upon, every honeſt man is concerned in the quarrel. But theſe laſt attacks have been ſo very feeble, that had we for once truſted the cauſe to its own ſtrength, it would have ſuffered but little damage. And I for my part ſhould have done ſo, did I not know there were a ſort of men in the world, who have the vanity to think every thing on their ſide unanſwerable that does not receive a ſet reply; though at the ſame time they are pleaſed to anſwer nothing themſelves. They fight indeed all of them like Tartars; make a bold and furious onſet, and if that does not do, they retreat in diſorder, and you never hear of them afterwards. And this, I

* Obadiah Walker, Maſter of Univerſity College.

expect,

expect, will be the preſent caſe. The Editor of theſe 'Conſiderations' will not much care for replying, I believe; becauſe that muſt be *de proprio*, and cannot be drawn from the old ſtore of proviſions laid in by the fraternity. But whether the poiſons were of an earlier mixture, and deſigned, like Italian preparations, to work now at a diſtance, or whether later tempered, is a thing we may ſafely be ignorant of; as long as we are ſecure of the antidote, before they take their effect. And this the Theatre-preſs thinks herſelf engaged to promiſe: conſidering from whoſe munificence ſhe had her birth, and eſpecially to whom ſhe ows her luſtre; a late Prelate, of a remarkable zeal for the Eſtabliſhed Church; and who, were Religions to be tried by Lives, would have lived down the Pope, and the whole Conſiſtory. If the ſervices ſhe does now are not of the moſt deſerving character, it is what the meanneſs of the oppoſer and a worn-out cauſe will bear: ſhe has already produced the ſtrongeſt arguments againſt Popery—Fathers and Bibles. The preſent attempt is confined perfectly within the bounds of an anſwer; and pretends to nothing more than a bare purſuit of the author ſtep by ſtep; and the laying open his blunders, for the reader's eaſe, juſt in the ſame order they lie. There was nothing frightful in this taſk, but the toil of being forced to think ſo long upon ſo very thoughtleſs a writer: in all other reſpects it was as eaſy as one would wiſh. The Hiſtory-part lay within a little room; and the reaſonings upon it were ſo thin that they needed only ſetting in the light to be looked through. In both, my greateſt helps have been drawn from one ſingle author, the Conſiderer himſelf; who, in every book of his, has made it appear, that he can write contradictions, as well as believe them. This ſmall performance

had ſeen the light much ſooner, but that it waited the edition of another piece which ſhould regularly have prevented it. But the gentleman employed on that occaſion having not yet had all the leiſure he expected, it was thought fit rather to ſend this abroad, out of its due place, than ſtay till every body had forgotten the book it anſwers: a misfortune which I fear it has already in a great meaſure undergone. In the Defence of our Reformation, to come, it will be found, that the Conſiderer is no good Hiſtorian; the Replyer has proved him no good Catholic; the Animadverter no good Subject; and all together no good Diſputant: ſo that I have now no new ſide of him left to entertain the reader with. What he is, after all this, nobody knows; it is much eaſier to gueſs what, under another Revolution, he will be."

P. 245. l. "beſtowed on him."

P. 274. Jonathan Trelawney, bart. was educated at Weſtminſter-ſchool, entered into Chriſt Church College, Oxon, in Michaelmas term, 1668, aged eighteen, and in the year following was made ſtudent; M. A. April 29, 1675. Afterwards he took holy orders, and had one or two benefices in Cornwall conferred on him by his relations. In 1680, his eldeſt brother died; and thereupon, though the title of Baronet and the paternal eſtate of his family were to come to him after the death of his father, yet he ſtuck to his holy orders, and, upon the tranſlation of Dr. Lake to the ſee of Chicheſter, was nominated by King James II. to ſucceed him in Briſtol; whereupon (after he had been diplomated D. D. Oct. 26, 1685,) being conſecrated at Lambeth, Nov. 8, 1685, he was introduced into the Houſe of Lords with Biſhop Ken, the 11th of the ſame month; on June 8, 1688, he was one of the ſix Biſhops (beſides the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Dr. Sancroft) that were committed to the

Tower of London, [illegible]ubſcribing a petition to his Majeſty, wherein h[illegible]d the reſt of the ſaid Biſhops "ſhewed th[illegible]reat averſeneſs that they "found in themſelves [illegible] the diſtributing and pub-"liſhing in all their churches his Majeſty's late "declar[illegible]on for liberty of conſcience, &c." where continu[illegible] till they were publicly tried in Weſtminſter-h[illegible] for a libel, and acquitted, they were, to the great joy of the true ſons of the Church of England, releaſed on the 15th of the ſame month. On the 13th of April, 1689, he was, by King William III. as a reward for his ſervices, tranſlated to the ſee of Exeter, in the room of Dr. Lamplugh, tranſlated to York; thence, in 1707, by Queen Anne, tranſlated to Wincheſter, in the room of Biſhop Mew, deceaſed; and dying July 19, 1721, was buried at Plint, or Plenint, in Cornwall, with his anceſtors.

P. 288. l. 14. The Biſho[illegible] was Major General Charles Trelawne[illegible] Sept. 1731, aged 78. See a particul[illegible]count of him in the Baronetage, vol. I. p. 309. The honours of the family are at preſent enjoyed [illegible] the Rev. Sir Harry Trelawney, bart.

P. 289. The impropriety noticed in the note, l. 21, 22, has been *removed* ſince that note was printed.

P. 304, note, l. 4. add, The volume in which the note was written was purchaſed by T. Payne, amongſt other books, out of the library of Biſhop Warburton, and had probably been given to Pope by Atterbury.

END OF VOL. II.

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